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# ARCHAIC ATTIC GRAVESTONES

MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES  
VOLUME X

BY  
GISELA M. A. RICHTER



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## THE MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

### VOLUME X

The Martin Foundation, on which these lectures are delivered, was established by his many friends in honor of Charles Beebe Martin, for forty-five years a teacher of classical literature and classical art at Oberlin College.

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## PREFACE

Archaic Attic gravestones, or grave stelai as we call them, have been discussed by many distinguished scholars (cf. p. 5, note 6); for they give to an archaeologist what he most desires—beautiful specimens and complicated problems. His interest and imagination are stirred both by what has survived and can be enjoyed, and by what is missing and must be reconstructed. My reason for reverting to this subject is that in the last ten years much has happened in the field of archaic Greek art. New discoveries and intensive study have enabled us better to understand its development and chronology, and this new knowledge can now be applied to archaic Attic stelai. As a result their history and development can be traced more convincingly than before. Since the Metropolitan Museum possesses the finest series of these monuments outside of Athens, I shall use them as milestones on the path of our enquiry. That is, I propose to discuss in detail the monuments in New York, introducing those in other Museums by way of comparison and amplification. In this way we shall become acquainted with an important branch of archaic Greek art, enjoy the beauty of its products, and incidentally learn something of the adventurous side of archaeology in a Museum. The glamour of archaeology in the field is well understood. Excavations and the discov-

ery of new material in the earth have always had a special appeal. But much of the advance in knowledge today is due not only to the actual increase in the number of objects, but to the intensive study of these objects. And Museums supply the opportunity for such research.

An alignment of these stelai in chronological sequence<sup>1</sup> enables us to relate them to contemporary history. We shall see that the gain is twofold. The historical happenings throw light on the evolution of the Attic stele and the story of this evolution elucidates historical events.

We must remember, however, that any new theories that we may advance are based on the available evidence, which is sometimes scanty. Like detectives, we must work from the clues that exist, such as they are. Future discoveries may either confirm or upset our theories.

Before sending this book to press I should have liked to revisit Athens and check a number of points. As that was impossible, I have copied the information given by Conze and other writers regarding measurements, tool marks, fastenings, and material of the monuments in Greece. In the case of the monuments now in New York, I have, of course, supplied this information myself. In so doing I have been impressed by the difficulty, in some instances, of diagnosing the kind of marble used. With the help of a collection of fragments from Greek quarries I found it

<sup>1</sup>I have adopted in this book the chronology I suggested in *Kouroi*—with the same reservations.

comparatively easy to detect Naxian and Hymettian, but difficult to distinguish white Pentelic from Parian. "Small-grained white marble" seemed therefore in some cases a safer description. A modern scientific study to replace Lepsius' *Marmorstudien* is an acute need.

It has been very pleasant and instructive to discuss the many intricate technical problems involved. I want to thank especially William B. Dinsmoor, Walter Hauser, George Karo, and Anthony Raubitschek for their patient help and advice. Miss Alexander and Miss Milne have read my MS. and have made many suggestions and corrections. J. D. Beazley also has had the great kindness to go over my MS. and has sent me many important comments—some of which are quoted in the text and footnotes. Arthur D. Nock has advised me on sphinxes, gorgons, and *hermai*. Figs. 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27 have been drawn by Lindsley F. Hall, and he has reinforced the lines in figs. 1, 3, 7, 18, 25, 69.

I am deeply appreciative of the honor done me by the invitation to deliver the Charles Beebe Martin Lectures, and I want to thank my kind hosts and colleagues for the delightful and memorable days I spent in Oberlin. I am grateful also for their readiness to publish this book in difficult times. A generous grant from the Metropolitan Museum has made it possible to have an adequate number of illustrations.

G. M. A. R.

New York, June, 1944

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- A.J.A.—American Journal of Archaeology.  
 Ant. Denkm.—Antike Denkmäler.  
 Arch. Anz.—Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.  
 Ath. Mitt.—Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.  
 Bechtel, Personennamen—F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen.  
 B.C.H.—Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.  
 B.S.A.—The Annual of the British School at Athens.  
 Bulas, Chronologia—K. Bulas, Chronologia attyckich stel nagrobnych epoki archaicznej, 1935.  
 C.V.—Corpus vasorum antiquorum.  
 Caskey, Catalogue—L. D. Caskey, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture (Boston Museum of Fine Arts), 1925.  
 Conze, Att. Gr.—A. Conze, Die attischen Grabreliefs, vol. I, 1893.  
 F.d.D.—Fouilles de Delphes (École Française d'Athènes).  
 F.R.—A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei; Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder.  
 Genethliakon—Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 24 Februar 1929.  
 Gerhard, A.V.—E. Gerhard, Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder, hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts, 1840-1858.  
 I.G.—Inscriptiones Graecae.  
 J.H.S.—The Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
 Jahrbuch—Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.  
 Kouroi—Kouroi, A study of the development of the Greek Kouros from the late seventh to the early fifth century B.C., by Gisela M. A. Richter, with the co-operation of Irma A. Richter. Two hundred and eight photographs by Gerard M. Young. 1942.

- Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung*—E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik*, 1920.
- Loewy, *Inschriften*—E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, 1885.
- M.M.A. Bulletin—Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- M.M.A. Handbook—G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection (Metropolitan Museum of Art)*, sixth ed. 1930.
- Mendel, *Catalogue*—G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines. Constantinople, Musées impériaux ottomans*, 1912-1914.
- Not. d. Scavi—Notizie degli scavi di antichità, communicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei.
- Öst. Jahr.—Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien.
- Pauly-Wissowa, R.E.—*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new edition begun by G. Wissowa.
- Payne and Young, *Acropolis*—H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*.
- Pryce, *Catalogue*—F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, vol. I, part 1: Prehellenic and Early Greek, 1928.
- Raubitschek, *Technik*—A. E. Raubitschek, "Zur Technik und Form der altattischen Statuenbasen," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare*, XII, 1938.
- Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*—G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, second ed. 1930. See also under Kouroi.
- Schrader, *Acropolis*—H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmor-bildwerke der Akropolis*, 1939.

## INTRODUCTION

## The Forerunners



REVERENCE for the departed was a fundamental trait of the ancient Greeks. "Go, children of the Hellenes, free your country, free your children, your wives, the seats of your ancestral gods, the tombs of your forefathers. All is at stake." These much-quoted lines in Aeschylus' *Persians* (402-405)—the shout of the Greeks before the Battle of Salamis—sum up in a few words what the average Greek valued most—his country, his family, his gods, and his dead.

In the field of art this reverence for the dead showed itself not only in the offerings which were placed inside and periodically brought to the graves,<sup>1</sup> but in the monuments erected over them. Especially is this true in Attica in the archaic period of the sixth century.

There were four chief types of early Attic monuments: (1) Large painted pots, which were popular in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and served not only for marking the graves of the dead, but for the receipt of libations;<sup>2</sup> (2) chestlike structures of sun-dried brick (coated with stucco, surmounted by flat roofs,

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<sup>1</sup>From the geometric period throughout antiquity both cremation and inhumation were practised in Attica. On early Attic funerary customs cf. Karo, *An Attic Cemetery* (1943), pp. 5ff.

<sup>2</sup>On these early tomb vases cf. the recent account by Karo, *op. cit.* pp. 10-13, and the periodic reports on the excava-

and decorated with terracotta plaques), which were apparently in use from the seventh century to the later sixth;<sup>2</sup> (3) stone statues of youths, maidens, lions, horsemen,<sup>3</sup> which, like the contemporary votive statues, were mounted on rectangular bases, columns, or pillars;<sup>4</sup> and (4) stone shafts or stelai. I shall confine my present study

tions in the Kerameikos by Kübler in *Arch. Anz.* 1933-1938. The large geometric kraters are formidable achievements in pottery, being sometimes several feet high, and as much as three feet wide. As there are wheel marks on the inside they must have been thrown on the wheel. "But as it would be physically impossible to control the clay needed for so large a jar in one mass, each vase must have been thrown in sections, a fresh supply of clay in the form of a large roll being added and thrown on the last section as it became firm" (Maude Robinson). The method is in use today by both peasant and studio potters. Xanthoudides in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology presented to Sir Arthur Evans* (1927), pp. 124 ff., gives a graphic account of potters in modern Crete making pithoi in this way, each pithos being worked in six sections.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Hirschfeld in *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* (1893), pp. 1 ff., and *Ant. Denkm.* II, 1908, pp. 4 ff., pls. 9-11; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, VIII (1903), pp. 73 ff.; Zschietzschmann, *Ath. Mitt.* LVIII, 1928, p. 39 f.; Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1933, col. 263, fig. 1; Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 17. I have discussed these tombs in an article in the *M.M.A. Bulletin*, new series, vol. I, no. 1, summer 1942, pp. 80 ff., where I have tried to summarize the evidence which has led to the recognition of this type of tomb and where I have published several terracotta plaques presumably from such tombs.

<sup>3</sup>Karo, *An Attic Cemetery*, pp. 18 ff., pls. 17, 19, 20; *Kouroi*, p. 3 f., and *passim*.

<sup>4</sup>Borrmann, *Jahrbuch*, III, 1888, pp. 269 ff.; Raubitschek, *Technik*, pp. 148 ff.

to the fourth type, the archaic Attic tombstone par excellence.

Only comparatively few of these archaic stelai have been preserved, but they rank among the best extant Greek sculptures.<sup>5</sup> Whereas a large number of the later Attic stelai are of second-rate quality, practically every fragment of an archaic Attic tombstone has become a prized Museum piece. The explanation is obvious. In the later fifth and in the fourth century wealth had become wide-spread, marble tombstones were common, and in this mass production quality inevitably deteriorated. But in the late seventh and the sixth century there were few people who could afford costly tomb memorials, and the art of monumental sculpture in stone was new. It was an aristocratic age, the time when the Eupatrids, the Athenian aristocrats, were powerful and wealthy, the people poor and with few rights. These aristocratic privileges were, it is true, gradually curbed—first by the reforms of Solon, then by the

<sup>5</sup>Many distinguished scholars have discussed these stelai; cf. especially A. Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff* (1883-1887), pp. 6 ff.; A. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I (1893), pp. 3 ff.; F. Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, pp. 513 ff.; L. D. Caskey, *A. J. A.* XV, 1911, pp. 293 ff.; W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 261 ff.; E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.* LI, 1926, pp. 142 ff.; C. Watzinger, in *Genethliakon*, 1929, pp. 141 ff.; H. Möbius, Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* IIIA, 1929, s. v. *Stele*, col. 2311 f.; K. Bulas, *Chronologia* 1935 (in Polish with a French résumé); A. Raubitschek, *Technik*, 1938, pp. 132-181; K. Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1938, cols. 587 ff.; and J. Charbonneaux, *Monuments Piot* XXXVII, 1940, pp. 46 ff.

tyrant Peisistratos and his sons, and finally, at the very end of the century, by the democratic constitution of Kleisthenes. But the change was gradual. Archaic Attica was still primarily aristocratic, with a few rich families owning most of the land. And the artists worked largely for these rich clients, who, we may now surmise, were the pioneer patrons of Attic sculpture, who financed the importation of huge blocks of marble from the Islands, who stimulated the creation of the earliest Attic *kouroi*, the so-called archaic Apollos,<sup>7</sup> and who ordered the earliest sepulchral stelai in stone. The bold conception of some of these monuments, which were erected on the large estates of Attica (cf. p. 120), is comparable to that of the colossal statues which were set up in various parts of Greece in early times—the Apollo dedicated by the Naxians at Delos, the Kriophoros of Thasos, the commemorative statues of Kleobis and Biton at Delphi, and the dedicatory youths several times life size of which fragments have been found in Samos and Thera.<sup>8</sup> They have revolutionized our ideas of the power and enterprise of early Greece. It was not only the tyrants but also the rich aristocrats who fostered the arts.

The Attic stele, as we find it fully developed in the second half of the sixth century, consists of a decorated shaft, an inscribed base, and a surmounting finial (cf. fig. 73). What was its origin?

<sup>7</sup>*Kouroi*, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup>*Kouroi*, nos. 13, 12, 11, 19, 20, 16.

Did the Greeks borrow the type from the East or did they invent it themselves? As is often the case in Greek art, the answer is not simple; for the Greeks invented, borrowed, evolved, and then, when the result was to their liking, retained one form for a considerable time, constantly varying it in detail as they saw fit, until such time as circumstances favored the adoption of a new form.

This combination of conservatism and fertility of invention we must keep constantly in mind in our study of archaic Greek art. The Greek artist worked within the framework of accepted types—in sculpture, in architecture, and in pottery. No one artist suddenly introduced revolutionary ideas or set out on an original quest of his own. The change was always evolutionary and gradual. Throughout the sixth century, for instance, the nude standing youth in a frontal pose with the left leg advanced and the arms hanging by the sides was a favorite type. But within this type the Greek sculptor worked out a systematic development along naturalistic lines, not only in the general structure, but in the rendering of each and every part.<sup>9</sup> And we shall find the same combination of uniformity and progression in the Greek stele.

Though decorated and undecorated stone slabs were commonly used as tombstones in the Orient, the Attic stele does not necessarily go back to Eastern prototypes, for it has a continuous his-

<sup>9</sup>Cf. *Kouroi*, pp. 6ff. and *passim*.

tory also in Greek lands. Rectangular slabs with representations of the dead fighting or hunting were placed over the Royal Graves at Mycenae;<sup>10</sup> and in the so-called geometric age of the succeeding centuries roughly worked, undecorated slabs or blocks were often erected over graves. Such stones have been found on Lesbos, Thera, the Cyclades, and in the Athenian Kerameikos.<sup>11</sup> Those from the Islands are sometimes inscribed with the name of the dead man and of his father. Those from Athens were occasionally found by the side of the large sepulchral vases which adorned the graves and through which libations were poured;<sup>12</sup> the earliest example has been assigned to the tenth century, the latest to the eighth (cf. fig. 1).

In the seventh and the early sixth century a variety of tombstones was apparently current in Greece and in neighboring countries in which Greek artists worked. We have, for instance,

<sup>10</sup>Reichel in *Eranos Lindabonensis*, pp. 29 ff.; Heurtley, *B.S.A.* XXV, 1921-1922, 1922-1923, pp. 126 ff., pls. XIX-XXI; Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (1930-1933), pp. 168 ff., pls. V-X.

<sup>11</sup>Koldewey, *Neandria*, p. 17, fig. 30; Dragendorff in *Thera*, II, pp. 102 ff.; Duemmler, *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pp. 97 ff.; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, VII, p. 55, fig. 3; Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires*, p. 2; Brueckner and Pernice, *Ath. Mitt.* XVIII, 1893, p. 153 f.; Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1938, col. 587, figs. 12, 13.

<sup>12</sup>Kübler, "Die Gräber des zwölften bis achten Jahrhunderts im Kerameikos" in *Bericht über den VI. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin, 21-26. August 1939*, pp. 428-430, fig. 1.

from Prinias, Crete, limestone shafts with incised representations of warriors and other figures;<sup>13</sup> from Lemnos a limestone slab with an incised warrior and an inscription in a language closely

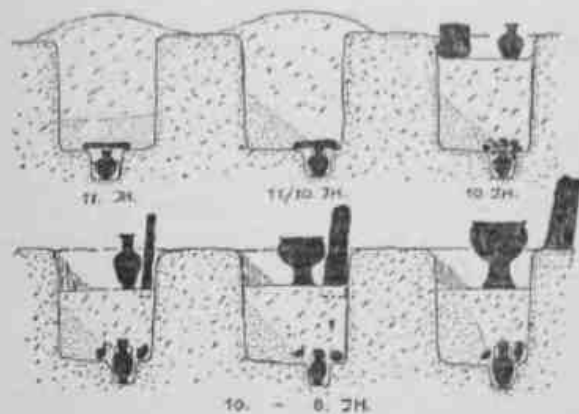


Fig. 1

related to the Etruscan;<sup>14</sup> from Laconia a pyramidal block of bluish marble with reliefs of two figures, front and back, and of a serpent on either side;<sup>15</sup> and from Lycia quadrangular, chestlike

<sup>13</sup>Pernier, *Ausonia*, I, 1906, p. 119, and *Bollettino d'Arte*, K.F. Johnson, II, 1908, p. 447 f., figs. 5, 6; Casson, *Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, pp. 68 ff., figs. 23, 26, 27.

<sup>14</sup>Karo, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXIII, 1908, pp. 65 ff., pl. V.

<sup>15</sup>Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* I, p. 236, fig. 113; Tod and Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, p. 132, no. 1, figs. 26, 27; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 465. Total preserved height, 67 cm. As Mr. Beazley has

monuments of limestone decorated with reliefs and placed on high towers.<sup>16</sup> The limestone monument from Boeotia erected by Anakles to Dermys and Kittylos,<sup>17</sup> which stylistically belongs to about 600 B.C., approaches more nearly the developed type of Attic stele. Though the figures are carved in unusually high relief and the slab is wide enough to accommodate two figures, the monument has otherwise the essential characteristics of the Attic stele—a base, a decorated slab tapering toward the top, and a surmounting finial. The last is missing, but the tenon on the top face indicates that there must once have been a crowning feature, perhaps of the form used in Attica at this time<sup>18</sup> (cf. fig. 57, *σ. 27*).

pointed out to me. "one of the scenes (a man attacking a woman) shows that this was not a gravestone in the ordinary sense, although it might conceivably have marked the grave of a hero."

<sup>16</sup>Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 286; Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, II, p. 13, fig. 9; Mendel, *Catalogue*, I, no. 109.

<sup>17</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 56. Limestone. Ht. 2 m.; width below 54 cm.; above 48 cm.; thickness 38 cm. Körte, *Att. Mitt.* III, 1878, pp. 309 ff., pl. XIV; *Kouroi*, no. 10.

<sup>18</sup>Raubitschek, *Technik*, p. 152 f., note 6.

## I

ABOUT 620-575 B.C.

TYPE I a

AGAINST the background we have sketched we may now focus our attention on the sixth-century Attic stele—on tracing its development and studying the fine examples that have survived. Though many are mere fragments, enough remains for a visualization of the type as it began and gradually evolved. We shall divide our story into several chapters dealing progressively with the first, second, third, and fourth quarters of the sixth century. In this chapter we shall discuss the stelai of the first quarter.

Recently a discovery of far-reaching importance was made in the Athenian cemetery of the Kerameikos, viz. the lower parts of two early stelai (fig. 28).<sup>1</sup> One, which has been assigned to the second half of the seventh century, is a simple, roughly worked slate slab, with downward tapering sides, let into a rectangular base and fastened with lead. The other, which has been assigned to the late seventh or early sixth century, is of limestone,<sup>2</sup> well worked, and has upward tapering sides; it too is let into a rectangular base and fastened with lead. Neither base has an inscription, presumably because the name or dedication was put on the finial or shaft (cf. figs. 30,

<sup>1</sup>Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1936, col. 185 f., fig. 14.

<sup>2</sup>As "poros" is a confusing term, I have used the word limestone throughout; cf. Casson, *Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, p. 72 f.

36). Both these stelai were found erected over mounds, recalling Homeric sepulchres. For in Homer's times, as we learn from both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, burial with mound and stele, *τύμβος τε στήλη τε*, was considered "the due of the dead."<sup>10</sup>

These two stones from the Kerameikos give us our starting point. The earlier one, with downward tapering sides, supplies the link between the roughly worked blocks of geometric times and the more developed sixth-century form. The later one, with upward tapering sides, exemplifies the sixth-century stele in its earliest form. But it shows us only the lower part. We must see whether among the fragments of grave monuments in museums some can be assigned to this period and can help us to realize the form as a whole.

The most important candidate is a monument in the Metropolitan Museum. It is a marble sphinx, seated on and in one piece with a cavetto capital<sup>1</sup> (figs. 30-32, 38). For the visualization of its original appearance we must remember that—like all Greek sculptures—it was once vividly

<sup>10</sup>*Iliad* XVI, 457, 675; cf. also *Odyssey* XII, 14: *τύμβος χεῖρας καὶ ἐπὶ στήλην ἐρύσαντες*.

<sup>1</sup>Island marble. Total ht. 72 cm.; ht. without capital 55.5 cm.; width of capital at bottom 33.8 cm., at top 47.9 cm.; thickness at bottom 13.3 cm., at top 17.5 cm. Marks of the drove on sides and back of capital, and on feathers, wings, and hair of sphinx. The plaster restorations on the sphinx and capital are clearly distinguishable in figs. 29-31, 37. *M. M. A. Bulletin*, XXI, 1926, p. 126 f., fig. 4; *M. M. A. Handbook* (1930), p. 238 f., fig. 163.

and harmoniously colored. Traces of red on the feathers and the fillet and of black between the wings are still preserved. That the monument formed part of a grave memorial is indicated by the inscription on the plinth in early Attic letters: . . . *λυσσόμενα εἰμι* "I am the monument of [Phī]linos (or [Tha]linos)." And that it was mounted on a tall slab or stele is suggested by the fact that the upper side of the plinth, including parts of the hind paws of the sphinx, are only roughly blocked out and must therefore have been out of sight. Experiments show that when the sphinx is mounted about six feet high the tops of the paws are not visible and the inscription can still be clearly seen. The underside of the capital (fig. 38) was prepared for insertion in another member: it has anathyrosis<sup>2</sup> and in the middle is a large socket into which a tenon on the top of the missing slab presumably fitted.<sup>3</sup>

Though the sphinx has hitherto been dated rather vaguely in the first half of the sixth century, a more precise assignment is now possible. The four-sided structure, the flat, stylized ear, the flat eye with a ridge at the outer corner, the rendering of the hair in flat globuled strands with

<sup>2</sup>The edge, about 1.7 cm. wide, is smoothed with the drove; it surrounds an area worked with the point and slightly sunken.

<sup>3</sup>The socket is only partly preserved, but enough remains to show that it was about 16 cm. long, 5.6 cm. wide, and 6.8 cm. deep. Its large size and the fact that there is no trace of a pour-hole on the preserved upper portion at the back suggest that a tenon rather than a metal dowel was used.



pointed ends, all connect it with the Sounion group of kouroi.<sup>7</sup> A date, therefore, not later than in the early sixth century is likely.

This assignment is supported by a comparison of the capital beneath the sphinx with the capitals found both at Lamptrai and at the mouth of the Sele (Silaris) in Lucania (figs. 43 and 7).<sup>8</sup> Though the design is similar—a throat moulding with leaf or tongue pattern—the sphinx capital is distinctly less developed in type, more thickset, lower in proportion to its width, less flowing in outline, and must therefore antedate the other capitals. Since the Lucanian example belonged to the same building as the early metopes,<sup>9</sup> which on stylistic grounds may be placed early in the second quarter of the sixth century, a date for the sphinx capital before that time is again indicated. The inscription, on epigraphical grounds, may date anywhere from the beginning to the middle of the sixth century.<sup>10</sup>

The form of capital with cavetto or throat moulding was doubtless derived from Egypt, where it had long been current (cf. fig. 29)—incidentally also for bases of sphinxes.<sup>11</sup> We shall not be surprised at such a direct borrowing at a

time when Egyptian art exercised a powerful influence on Greek sculpture.<sup>12</sup>

It will be noted that the New York capital has a slight return at the bottom. This suggests the presence of a torus moulding to form a transition between capital and shaft, as in the Egyptian pilasters<sup>13</sup> (fig. 2). The moulding presumably was added on the missing shaft. In Egypt the cavetto capital is regularly in a separate piece, and the torus moulding is added on the next member below it.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Raubitschek<sup>15</sup> has recently called attention to a fragment of an early limestone capital from the Athenian Akropolis and two fragments of the shaft with a moulded edge and an inscription (fig. 3). Enough of the capital remains to show that it was of the flaring, cavetto type, was decorated with a floral design, and had a large rectangular hole at the bottom, presumably for the insertion of a tenon. The proportions are thickset, as in the sphinx capital, and the inscription on the shaft is in the early *boustrophedon*



Fig. 2

<sup>7</sup>Kouroi, pp. 60 ff.

<sup>8</sup>Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1937, pp. 270 ff., figs. 44-47, and *Arch. Anz.* 1936, col. 518, fig. 28.

<sup>9</sup>Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1937, pp. 339 ff.

<sup>10</sup>According to Dr. Kirchner, whom I consulted by letter.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. e. g. Jéquier, *Les Temples memphites et thébains*,

pl. 60, and *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 377, fig. 249; Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khârgah Oasis*, part I, pls. X A, XI A.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. *Kouroi*, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>I owe this observation to Mr. Walter Hauser.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. e. g. Winlock, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup>*Technik*, pp. 153 ff., figs. 11-13.



style. A date in the first quarter of the sixth century is therefore likely. Though the monument was presumably dedicatory rather than sepulchral, it is important to have a second Attic exam-

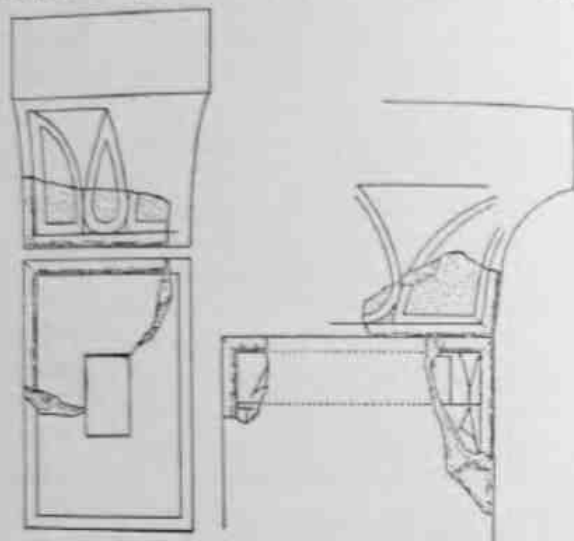


Fig. 3

ple of a cavetto capital from this early period.

It had long been surmised that sphinxes formed the crowning features of sepulchral as well as votive monuments.<sup>25a</sup> The early sphinx in New York establishes this surmise as a fact at a very early period. Among the many sphinxes in museums are there others of this period which might once have served as finials? I have two candi-

<sup>25a</sup>For Etruscan funeral sphinxes cf. e. g. D. Levi, *Bollettino d'Arte* XXVIII, 1934, pp. 55 ff. figs. 10, 11, 13.

dates. One is a limestone sphinx in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen<sup>26</sup> (fig. 35), which in style is intimately related to Kleobis and Biton.<sup>27</sup> Note the broad face; the large, flat eyes; the ears with helix (external rim) and antihelix in one plane and the concha (shell) in another;<sup>28</sup> and especially the hair, which bulges forward over the shoulder and is arranged in spiral locks over the forehead with a loop over each temple. A date early in the sixth century is indicated. The second candidate is a mere fragment—part of the head and of the body of a sphinx, said to be from Attica, and now in New York<sup>29</sup> (figs. 33, 34). She too is of limestone and fortunately has her original colors—black, red, blue, and white—tolerably preserved. She wears a polos, the upper part of which was worked separately; for the holes at the top must have been made for the attachment of another member. The rendering of the hair in front by horizontal rolls recalls the

<sup>26</sup>Ht. 84 cm. *Billedtavler til Katalog over antike Kunstværker*, pl. I, no. 4; F. Poulsen, *Katalog over antike Skulpturer*, p. 211, no. 4; V. H. Poulsen, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, 1938, p. 86, note 4, figs. 17, 18.

<sup>27</sup>*Kouroi*, no. 11.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. *Kouroi*, pp. 27, 33.

<sup>29</sup>Ht. 22.8 cm. M. M. A. *Handbook* (1930), p. 79. Black for hair; red for breast, left wing covert, and some feathers of right wing; blue (now mostly greenish) for wing covert and some feathers of right wing; white for face, neck, and apparently whole body. The different areas have raised borders, painted white.

"Daedalic" sculptures and suggests a date perhaps in the late seventh century.

Whether these two limestone sphinxes belonged to gravestones there is of course no telling, for they have no plinths and there is no evidence of their original purpose. But since they are of a period when we know that sphinxes crowned funeral monuments, they too may have once stood in a Greek burial plot.

The meaning of these sphinxes has often been discussed.<sup>20</sup> Was the sphinx, as in Egypt, a symbol of power? Was she purely ornamental, as apparently on Orientalizing Greek vases? Was she, as suggested by the Greek legend of Oedipus and by representations on early Greek gems and vases, a death demon that devoured men? The evidence is insufficient for a definite answer. But it is hard to believe that a sphinx surmounting a gravestone was purely ornamental. Even on Greek soil she had had a long history before the sixth century, as her occurrence in Mycenaean art shows;<sup>21</sup> and Oriental sphinxes must have played a part in her subsequent development. Her association with gravestones suggests that ultimately she was a spirit of death. Her transformation into a beautiful guardian of the tomb is typically Greek.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Herbig in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* III A (1929), s. v. Sphinx, cols. 1704 ff., and the references there cited, especially Robert, *Oedipus* I, pp. 48 ff., 77 ff., II, p. 17.

<sup>21</sup>Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 318, note.  
<sup>22</sup>I owe much of the above analysis to stimulating discussions with Arthur D. Nock.

Having examined the capitals and the sphinxes which may have belonged to early-sixth-century gravestones, let us turn to the shafts. No example decorated on the front face with a man, like the later stelai, has as yet been found. But differently ornamented shafts exist. The well-known stele found at Sigeion, near the Dardanelles, is a tall slab with sides tapering upward<sup>23</sup> (fig. 36). On its front face are two inscriptions which suggest that it served as a sepulchral monument; for they inform us, first in Ionic then in Attic Greek, that the monument belongs to Phanodikos, son of Hermokrates of Prokonnesos, and (in the Attic inscription) that Aisopos and his brothers made it. On the top face is a dowel hole for the insertion of a finial.<sup>24</sup>

Sigeion was awarded by Periander to Athens,<sup>25</sup> and may or may not have remained in Athenian hands throughout the sixth century.<sup>26</sup> On epigraphical grounds the stele has been dated in the first half of the sixth century, by some more pre-

<sup>23</sup>In the British Museum. Marble. Ht. 2.31 m.; width below 48 cm., above 46 cm.; thickness below 27 cm., above 13 cm. Loewy, *Inschriften*, p. 5 f., no. 4; Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*<sup>3</sup> I (1915), no. 2; F. H. Marshall in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, IV, 2, (1916) no. 1002; Raubitschek, *Technik*, p. 152 f.

<sup>24</sup>Length 8 cm., width 6 cm., depth 6 cm.

<sup>25</sup>Herodotos V, 95-96; Strabo XIII, 599-600.

<sup>26</sup>In Herodotos' account (V, 94) of the war between Athens and Mytilene over Sigeion Peisistratos seems to be an anachronistic intrusion.

cisely at the beginning of the sixth century.<sup>27</sup> Presumably the monument was made by Attic artists for an Ionian client. On the analogy of the New York monument we may perhaps restore the missing finial as a capital with a cavetto moulding surmounted by a sphinx.<sup>28</sup>

It is a well-known fact that a number of old gravestones have been found incorporated in the walls of Athens which Themistokles hurriedly built after the Persian War in 479 B.C.<sup>29</sup> We may recall Thucydides' graphic account of Themistokles' ruse for the building of these walls by delaying negotiations with the Spartans, who wanted an unwallled Athens, and the description of these walls:<sup>30</sup> "Even today the structure shows that it was put together in haste. For the lower courses consist of all sorts of stones, in some cases not even hewn to fit but just as they were when the several workers brought them, and many stelai from grave monuments and stones wrought for other purposes were built in." Among the old gravestones recovered from the gateway many years ago was a fragment of a limestone stele with a moulded edge and incised geometric

<sup>27</sup> Marshall, *loc. cit.*; Walters, *A Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the British Museum* (1929), p. 11, no. 1002.

<sup>28</sup> Raubitschek, *op. cit.* p. 153.

<sup>29</sup> Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, pp. 513 ff.

<sup>30</sup> I, 93, 2 (tr. C. Foster Smith, with change of "columns" to "stelai"). The story has been doubted by Beloch and others.

ornament.<sup>31</sup> Mr. Buschor published the piece in 1926 as part of a grave monument and tried to reconstruct its original appearance.<sup>32</sup> He surmised that it was the top of the shaft, that it had beneath it the figure of a youth and a panel, and was surmounted by a capital and a sphinx.

In 1938 another large piece of the same slab was found near where the first one had come to light, practically completing it<sup>33</sup> (fig. 37). Buschor's surmise that it was a tall stele proved to be correct, but his piece, instead of being the top, turned out to be near the bottom, and the geometric decoration was found to continue over the whole face, leaving no room for the representation of a man. On the sides are two eighteen-petalled rosettes. At the top was a tenon which was tooled away in antiquity, presumably when the stone was put into the Themistoklean wall. The double-T clamp holes on the face must date from the time of Themistokles' walls when, according to Thucydides,<sup>34</sup> "stones were bound to each other with iron and lead."

Buschor assigned the stele to the first half of the sixth century; Bulas<sup>35</sup> to the first quarter; and both considered it the earliest extant Attic ex-

<sup>31</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LI, 1926, pp. 142 ff., Beilage VIII, 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 144, fig. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Athens, Kerameikos Museum. Total ht., as preserved, 2.15 m.; width at bottom 50.6 cm.; thickness at bottom 27.6 cm. Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1938, col. 604 f., fig. 15. = K. F. Hansen *St. H. 42*.

<sup>34</sup> I, 93, 5. The description refers really to the walls of the Peiraieus.

<sup>35</sup> *Chronologia*, pp. 96, 101.

ample. Since it is rather thick in relation to its width,<sup>36</sup> Buschor evolved the theory that the earliest stelai were pillars and only gradually developed into slender shafts. This in itself reasonable surmise, which had been generally adopted, has not, however, been substantiated by recent finds.<sup>37</sup> The early slate and limestone stelai from the Kerameikos (fig. 28) are both comparatively slender;<sup>38</sup> likewise the shaft which fitted below the early sphinx capital (fig. 30). And each of these is earlier than or at least contemporary with the limestone stele in question.

As a matter of fact, the date of Buschor's stele is not certain. On the present evidence it might belong either to the first or the second quarter of

<sup>36</sup>Not, however, as thick as Buschor thought, for, believing he had the top piece, he imagined a greater thickness at the bottom.

<sup>37</sup>On this subject cf. Kübler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 588, and Charbonneau, *Monuments Piot* XXXVII, 1940, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>38</sup>The dimensions are not given by Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1936, col. 185; but George Karo tells me that the slabs are shafts, not pillars, and that is how they look in Kübler's illustration, fig. 14, as far as one can judge. If the memorials of Kleitas and Tettichos, of which only the bases have been preserved (*J. G.* 1<sup>2</sup> nos. 982, 976; Conze, *Att. Gr.* 1, p. 12, nos. 34, 35; Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires*, p. 33 f., fig. 13), were really stelai, not statues, they must have been thick slabs, to judge by the dimensions of the cuttings given by Conze—50 by 35 cm. and 48 by 35 cm. respectively. The date of the monuments is uncertain; for the forms of the letters in the inscriptions, which supply the only evidence, were current throughout the first half of the sixth century.

the century. The multi-leaved rosettes, which have been compared with those on the "Vourva" vases,<sup>39</sup> have close parallels also on a capital from the mouth of the Sele, datable in the second quarter of the sixth century<sup>40</sup> (fig. 7). The "simple meander", which has been connected with Middle Corinthian pottery,<sup>41</sup> also occurs on Late Corinthian vases of 575-550 B.C.,<sup>42</sup> on mid-sixth-century Attic ware, and even on late archaic Attic ware.<sup>43</sup>

There is therefore no real evidence for the theory that the pillar preceded the stele. It would seem that from the beginning the standard type was a shaft of varying thickness, crowned by a finial.<sup>44</sup>

A fragment of another limestone shaft with geometric designs (fig. 4),<sup>45</sup> which is said to have been found together with the claw of a sphinx, is likewise difficult to date. It has an unusual meander pattern which resembles one on a stele assign-

<sup>39</sup>Bulas, *Chronologia*, p. 101.

<sup>40</sup>Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1937, p. 271, fig. 44.

<sup>41</sup>Bulas, *loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup>Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 322 ff.

<sup>43</sup>*G. V.* Oxford, fasc. 2, pl. II, no. 21. "This pattern (whether to be read as a variety of meander or not) occurs also in the Berlin painter (*G. V.*, Harvard pl. 17, 4; cf. *G. V.* Palermo pl. 19, 3, and the Sappho painter's prothesis plaque in the Louvre)". J. D. Beazley.

<sup>44</sup>Dr. Karo suggests that a pillar may have been used for isolated positions, for instance on corner lots where it would have been seen from all sides.

<sup>45</sup>Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.* LI, 1926, p. 145, fig. 4.

able to about 560 B.C. (fig. 61). But it may be earlier or later, for the standard Greek patterns, even if of an unusual variety, do not appear to be confined to a short period.<sup>40</sup>

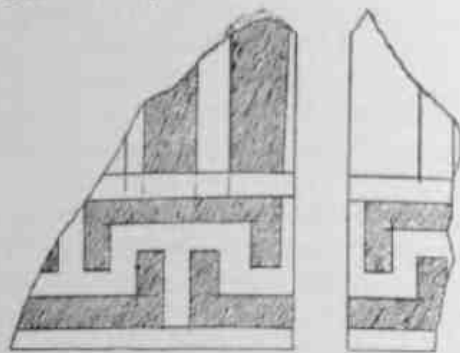


Fig. 4

This brings us to the end of our survey of the earliest known Attic stelai. We have studied the various fragments that must have belonged to such tombstones. Let us now combine them into a complete monument. We can reconstruct it, I think, somewhat as in fig. 5—with surmounting sphinx, cavetto capital, tall shaft tapering toward the top, and rectangular base, each carved in a separate piece. In other words, we have here all the component elements of the developed sixth-century form (cf. fig. 73). And this is not surprising, considering the strict adherence to given types in sixth-century Greece. Whether the shaft was decorated on the front face with a

<sup>40</sup>J. D. Beazley comments: "The pattern is near that used by the Kleophrades painter (Tarquinia calyx, Herakles hydria in Villa Giulia) and on the Sofia fr. *ARV*. p. 164, middle".

man, like the later stelai, we do not know; for, as we saw, it may also have had an inscription or an incised geometric design. If there was a man, he must have been in profile to the left, not to the right, as regularly later; for the sphinx is turned to the left, one of the few extant ones so placed.<sup>41</sup> As no relief of a man of this period has survived, we should have to adapt in our imagination a kouros statue of that time; in this new role, however, he would put his right, not his left foot forward. Whether there was a space above his head, as in some later stelai (cf. figs. 56, 58, 59, 73, 105), we do not know.

<sup>41</sup>For other examples cf. figs. 49, 52.



Fig. 5

II

ABOUT 575-545 B.C.

TYPE I b

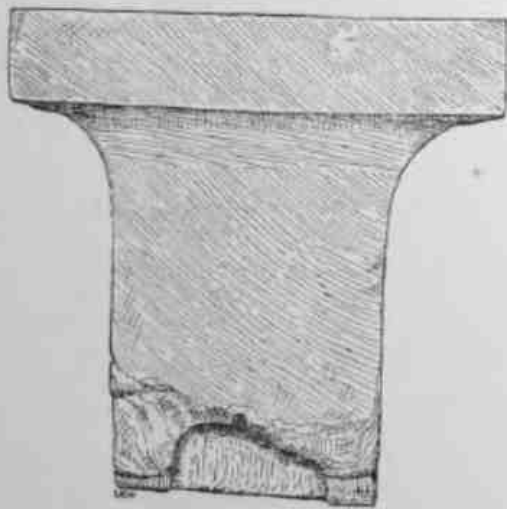
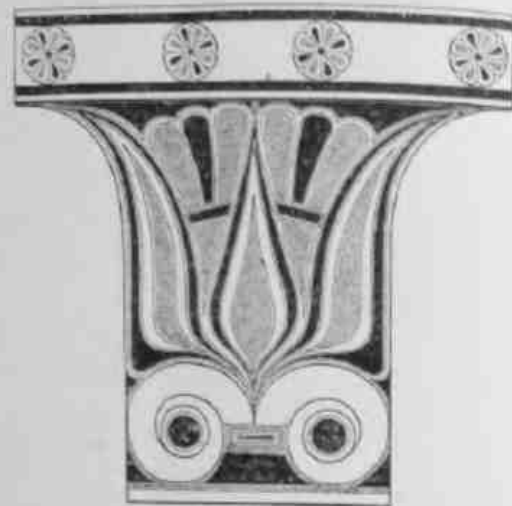


Fig. 6a, b

IN OUR last chapter we studied the earliest extant Attic tombstones. We now come to the next stage—the stelai which can be assigned to the second quarter and middle of the sixth century. Examples are now more numerous than before, but again no gravestone has survived entire. We have to study separate finials, capitals, shafts, and bases and reconstruct from them the original composition.

Let us begin with two cavetto capitals which are of special interest, for they are direct descendants of the capital with sphinx shown in figs. 30-32. One was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1917 (figs. 39-42, 6a, b),<sup>1</sup> the other, from Lamptrai, has been known since the eighteenth century (figs. 43, 46, 47).<sup>2</sup> Both differ from the

<sup>1</sup>Hymettian marble. Ht. 63.6 cm.; width at bottom 36.3 cm., at top 63.8 cm.; thickness at bottom 12.2 cm., at top 20.4 cm. The back is smoothed with the drove. There are traces of red on centres of lotos petals and on one palmette leaf; some areas seem to be covered by a dark stain perhaps left by black paint; other areas are more weathered and were therefore presumably reserved white. The eyes of the volutes, one palmette leaf, and the area above the leaves are tooled with a point, perhaps as a guide for painting them black. *M. M. A. Handbook* (1930), p. 239, fig. 164; Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 261 ff. *K. F. Schaubert, Abt. der Rel. 94, 2-3*.

<sup>2</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 41. Hymettian marble (Lepsius). Ht. 73.5 cm.; width below 42 cm., above 67.8 cm.; thickness below 17 cm.; width above 25 cm. As in the New York example, the back is undecorated. Conze, *Att.*



capital with the sphinx in that they are higher in proportion to their width and that the throat moulding has no return at the bottom. In fact, the form, though more developed, resembles the

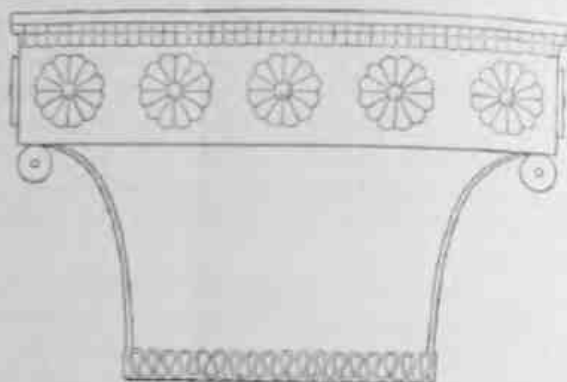


Fig. 7

anta capital from the mouth of the Sele (fig. 7),<sup>3</sup> which, as we saw, may be dated early in the second quarter of the sixth century. The lotos and rosette decoration on the New York example has rightly been connected with the similar designs on the sima of the "Hekatompedon," generally dated about 560 or earlier.<sup>4</sup> But we must remem-

ber that ornaments in Greece are not as useful a criterion for chronology as human and animal figures; for their development is often difficult to trace and the same designs were apparently in use for a considerable time.

There is nothing specifically sepulchral about the New York capital. It may have been votive; and as a matter of fact a fragment of a similar capital has been found on the Akropolis (figs. 44, 45)<sup>5</sup> and therefore presumably belonged to a votive monument. But the Lamptrai capital has mourning figures on the two sides and was therefore part of a gravestone. The style of its reliefs—the mourners on the sides and the horseman on the front face—suggests a date around the middle of the sixth century. The practically foldless himation of the mourning man—draped over one arm with the other end thrown over the other shoulder—occurs on vases by Lydos, Amasis, and other mid-sixth-century artists.<sup>6</sup> The vertically placed zigzag folds on the himation of the female mourner are similar to those on the Lyons kore,<sup>7</sup> on the Athena of the Perseus metope from Selinus,<sup>8</sup> and on mid-sixth-century vases.<sup>9</sup> The stocky, broad horse, with some hoofs off the

*Gr.* I, no. 19, pl. XI; Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*; de La Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes*, pl. XXXVI, 2. On the gait of the horse cf. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art*, p. 112 f.

<sup>3</sup>Zaccanti Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1937, pp. 270 ff., figs. 44-47.

<sup>4</sup>Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur*, pp. 64 ff., pls. II, VI, IX.; Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* p. 267 (about 566 B.C.); W. H. Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.* LX, 1935, p. 97 (about 580-570 B.C.).

<sup>5</sup>Raubitschek, *Technik*, p. 155 f. Hymettian (?) marble.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. e. g. Rumpf, *Sakoides*, pl. 26; Boston Museum, 01. 8027. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, p. 31; Munich 1367 and 1368, *C. V. Munich*, fasc. 1, pl. 4, nos. 3 and 4; *C. V. Cambridge*, fasc. 2, pl. XXIII, 2 a, b; *B. S. A.* XXXII, 1931-1932, p. 14, pl. 7c.

<sup>7</sup>Payne and Young, *Acropolis*, pl. 24, no. 4.

<sup>8</sup>In the National Museum, Palermo. Benndorf, *Die Meto-*



ground, resembles the horses by the early Exekias.<sup>10</sup>

The high rank of the youth commemorated by the Lamptrai monument is indicated by the horseman represented on the capital—presumably his squire, for he holds a second horse and shield.<sup>11</sup> We shall find such horsemen introduced also in some later stelai, where they evidently have the same significance.

That the New York and Lamptrai capitals originally surmounted stelai was demonstrated by William B. Dinsmoor, who pointed out that on the bottom face of each is a large dowel hole with a channel for pouring the lead (cf. fig. 6b), a device regularly employed for setting a stone flush on another member.<sup>12</sup> He therefore recon-

structed the capitals not on low steps, as had been done heretofore, but on tall slabs. The slab doubtless was decorated with the figure of a man. At least several such reliefs belonging to this period have survived (cf. figs. 55-62), showing beyond dispute that by this time that form of decorated shaft was current.

The top face of the New York capital (fig. 42) was clearly prepared for the insertion of an upper member. The edge is smoothed with the drove, then comes an area worked with the point and for the most part slightly sunken, and in the middle is a large rectangular socket<sup>13</sup> with a marble tenon embedded in lead. The Lamptrai and Akropolis capitals have similar sockets<sup>14</sup> and must also have supported finials—presumably sphinxes, as in the earlier monuments. The plinths of these sphinxes must each have had a tenon at the bottom, fitting into the cavity of the capital, like the statue recently found in Samos.<sup>15</sup>

The Lamptrai capital has a broken projecting

pen von Selinunt, pl. 1; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 405. On the date of these metopes cf. p. 69, note 37.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. e. g. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, I, no. 247, pl. 67; Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 20.

<sup>11</sup>Technau, *op. cit.* pl. 2.

<sup>12</sup>Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 7, 4; Helbig, "Les 'ἱππῆς' Athénien," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXXVII, 1902, pp. 49 ff.; Lammert in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* VIII, 1913, s. v. 'ἱππῆς', cols. 1693 ff.; de La Coste Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes*, pp. 365 ff. (especially the list of representations of squires on vases, p. 366); Kunze in *Jahrbuch*, LVI, 1941, Olympiabericht III, 1938-1939, p. 99 f., pl. 32. The Lamptrai squire wears a chlamys with a chequer pattern—like Kyknos on a vase by Lydos (Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 30). He carries two shields, a round one and—as D. von Bothmer pointed out to me—a pelta, the form used by Amazons, Thracians, archers. Does the pelta perhaps belong to the squire, the round one to his master?

<sup>13</sup>*A. J. A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 261 ff. The dowel hole in the

New York capital is 11.5 cm. deep, 22 cm. long, 45 cm. wide at the bottom, but narrows considerably toward the top; the round hole for pouring the lead is 2.1 cm. in diameter. The edge of the bottom face is smoothed with the drove; the inner portion is slightly sunken and worked with the point.

<sup>14</sup>7 cm. wide, 30 cm. long, and 7.5 cm. deep.

<sup>15</sup>For the socket in the Lamptrai capital, which is somewhat irregular in shape, cf. the illustration in Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, p. 9. It is 16 cm. wide, 46.5 cm. long, and 3.5 cm. deep. The socket in the Akropolis fragment was 6 cm. wide and 7 cm. deep; cf. Raubitschek, *Technik*, p. 156.

<sup>16</sup>Buschor, *Altgriechische Standbilder*, fig. 75.

surface about 5 cm. high along the bottom. We may interpret this as a torus moulding, similar to that which we restored for the early capital (fig. 5) on the analogy of Egyptian parallels. If the New York lotos capital had such a torus moulding it must have been added to the top of the shaft, as regularly in Egypt.

Since the Lamptrai and New York lotos capitals have both lost their surmounting sphinxes and their shafts, let us look at other sphinxes and decorated shafts which can be assigned to this period; for they will help us in our attempted reconstruction.

There are quite a number of sphinxes which stylistically belong to the second quarter or the middle of the sixth century. First that from Spata,<sup>28</sup> which is fairly complete, with the head, most of the body, and parts of the wings preserved (fig. 48). The flat eyes, the relatively flat ears, the straight lips which do not meet at the corners, the hair with its scalloped edge above the forehead and temples and the two tight wads of tresses falling down in front on each side suggest a date fairly early in the period of the Tenaea-Volomandra kouros<sup>27</sup>—let us say around 570.

The sphinx from the Themistoklean wall (fig. 50)<sup>28</sup> is slightly more developed in the ren-

derings of ears, eyes, mouth, and hair. The shape of the upper lid is beginning to suggest the presence of the eyeball beneath it, the ear is assuming more depth, the tresses of the hair are loosening up. In these respects the sphinx resembles the kouros from Volomandra<sup>29</sup> and may be dated about 560-550 B.C.

A sphinx from the Peiraieus<sup>30</sup> (fig. 49) should be, to judge by what can be made out in the present battered state of the face, about contemporary with the sphinx from the Themistoklean wall. It is turned to the left, like the early New York sphinx (fig. 30), instead of to the right, as are most extant sphinxes.

A fragment of a limestone sphinx, said to be from Attica and recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>31</sup> is likewise turned to the left (figs. 52-54). The three divisions of its wings were incised as well as painted and so are comparatively well preserved. The breast feathers are compass-drawn arcs of the same circle with the

ack). Ht. 42 cm.; length 42 cm. Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, pp. 550 ff., pls. XXIII, XXIV.

<sup>28</sup>Kouros, no. 51.

<sup>29</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 76. Parian marble. Length 68 cm. Kavvadias, *Εἰσαγωγή τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, Κατάλογος περιγραφικός*, no. 76.

<sup>30</sup>Limestone. Ht. 47 cm., width 34.5 cm., thickness 18.5 cm. Red on borders of breast and of wing coverts and on centres of small feathers. Red flanked by black, on primary quills. No color now visible on secondaries, but a border is distinguishable by a difference in preservation, as is the case also on the primary quills. From the Kelekian Collection. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire* VI, 1930, p. 147, 4 (there shown

<sup>28</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 28. Parian marble (Siegel). Ht. 45 cm., length, 58 cm. Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitt.* IV, 1879, p. 68 f., pl. V.

<sup>27</sup>Kouros, p. 129 f.

<sup>29</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 2891. Island marble (No-

mark of the compass leg in the centre of each. The color scheme was red, black, and reserved white. The whole formed a beautifully decorative design, based on nature. We may compare with this sphinx another fragmentary limestone sphinx, found in a drain in Corinth.<sup>27</sup> It has the same abrupt transition of planes where the haunch joins the hind leg, similar quasi-horizontal divisions of the hair, and a similar twist of the head. The big muscles of the haunch are marked by grooves instead of being modeled as in sphinxes of the subsequent period (cf. e.g. figs. 76, 77).

A battered head from the Elgin Collection,<sup>28</sup> probably from Athens, may belong to a sphinx rather than a kouros; for the sterno-mastoid muscle on the right side bulges more than that on

incorrectly mounted. Richter and Hall, *M.M.A. Bulletin*, II, no. 8 (April 1944), p. 240, pl. IV, and a forthcoming article in the *A.J.A.*

<sup>27</sup>Morgan, *A. J. A.* XL, 1936, pp. 476 ff., figs. 16-18.

<sup>28</sup>In the British Museum. Parian marble. Ht. 22 cm. Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 473; *Kouroi*, no. 55. The suggestion that the head belonged to a sphinx was first made, as Mr. Beazley pointed out to me, by Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, p. 386. The marble head, said to be from Phaleron, with lobes pierced for earrings (*Collection Raoul Warocqué, Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines*, Mariemont 1903, p. 9, no. 6) has on account of its long neck been identified as that of a sphinx. It may equally well, however, have belonged to a kore, for long necks often occur in early and middle archaic art (cf. e.g. the korai in Berlin and Akropolis 669, 682 and the kouroi, *Kouroi*, nos. 1, 17, 18, 26, 40, 58, pl. CXXXIII, fig. 469).

the left, indicating that the head was turned toward the left. Again the renderings of hair, eyes, and especially of the primitive ear suggest a date before the middle of the sixth century.

A sphinx in private possession in Vienna<sup>29</sup> (fig. 51) resembles the Spata sphinx in the arrangement of the hair, but is probably a little later, to judge by the more advanced rendering of eyes, mouth, ears, and skull.

Several sphinxes from the Athenian Akropolis<sup>30</sup> also belong to this group. They, like the somewhat earlier Naxian sphinx at Delphi<sup>31</sup> and the head, perhaps of a sphinx, from Aegina,<sup>32</sup> must have been votive, not sepulchral, since they were erected in a sanctuary. The other sphinxes that we have discussed may of course also have been votive, since we do not know definitely that they surmounted gravestones; though in the case of the one from the Themistoklean wall the presumption at least is that it came from a tomb. In any case there was evidently no distinction in

<sup>29</sup>Ht. 55 cm. Apparently island marble. Eichler, *Belvedere*, III, 1923, pp. 93 ff., pls. 57, 58.

<sup>30</sup>Athens, Akropolis Museum, nos. 630, 632, 3723 (turned to left), 4164 and 3835, 4132. Hts. respectively 71, 55, 52, 31.5, 22 cm. Payne and Young, *Acropolis*, pls. 5-7; Schuchhardt in Schrader, *Akropolis*, nos. 371-375, pls. 165, 164, 168, figs. 293, 294. The sphinx from the North Slope (Broneer, *A. J. A.* XLII, 1938, p. 447, fig. 4) perhaps fell down from the Akropolis before it was put into the well.

<sup>31</sup>*F. d. D.* IV, pls. V, VI, VIa. Island marble.

<sup>32</sup>Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 359 f., no. 169, pls. 82, 83. Island marble (Furtwängler). Ht. 22 cm.

composition or style between votive and sepulchral sphinxes. Several of these sphinxes, however, are probably somewhat earlier than the New York and Lamptraï capitals. We must therefore choose one of the later examples as an appropriate finial for either monument.

So much for the possible finials of the grave-stones of the second half and middle of the sixth century. Let us now turn to the shafts and see which of the extant decorated ones can be attributed to the period under consideration.

One of the earliest and most nearly complete examples is the limestone slab (originally covered with stucco and painted) which was recently unearthed in the Kerameikos (fig. 55). In 1933 the lower part came to light and was immediately recognized as belonging to a gravestone; then in 1937-1938 the upper part.<sup>28</sup> A long-haired, bearded man is represented in profile to the right, holding a staff and with a sword by his side (the baldric from which it must have hung was doubtless rendered in color). The thickset proportions, the flat eye, the stylized ear point to a date before the middle of the century. Noteworthy is the tongue pattern surrounding the composition—a rare feature. On the top face of the slab are the remains of a tenon for the attachment of the finial—

<sup>28</sup>Kühler, *Arch. Anz.* 1935, col. 272, fig. 5, and 1938, col. 587 f., figs. 14, 17. Total ht., as preserved, 1.81 m.; width at bottom 32 cm., at top 49.5 cm.; thickness at bottom 26 cm., at top 24 cm.

presumably a cavetto capital and sphinx—which surmounted the monument.

The well-known relief of the head of a youth against a disk<sup>29</sup> (fig. 57) is part of another stele of this period. He was represented as an athlete, holding up his disk in one hand. The long hair, arranged in horizontal wads and tied at the bottom, recalls that of the Berlin kore<sup>30</sup> and of figures on the François vase; and the flat eye with horizontal ridge at the outer corner, the long lobe of the ear, and the delicate curve of the jaw are also similar. The rendering of the mouth, however, is more advanced. We may suggest 560-550 as a probable date.

A head with a similar rendering of the hair, but incised instead of in relief<sup>31</sup> (fig. 58), must come from a stele of about this period. Note the rendering of the eye, the large nose, and the primitive ear, which in this case is placed much too far back.

A stele found in the Themistoklean wall has a relief of a youth holding a spear in one hand (fig. 61).<sup>32</sup> Much of the surface has been worked

<sup>29</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 38. Pentelic marble (Lepsius). Ht. 34 cm.; width below 44.5 cm., above 43 cm.; thickness 15 cm. Found near the Dipylon. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 5, pl. IV.

<sup>30</sup>Wiegand, *Ant. Denkm.* IV, pls. 11-18.

<sup>31</sup>In private possession. Hymettian marble. Ht. 32 cm., width 32 cm., thickness 11 cm. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.* LI, 1926, p. 147, Beilage VIII, 1. I have not seen the fragment and take Buschor's word for its authenticity.

<sup>32</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 2687. Ht. 2.395 m.;

away to flatten the slab for use in the wall; but the contours of the figure are well preserved, as well as a few parts in the farther distance, for instance the left hand and the leg. Like the disk thrower and the swordsman from the Kerameikos, the youth had long hair tied at the ends. The proportions of the body, with the greatest protrusion of the back higher than that of the chest, and the downward pointing toes recall the kouroi of the Volomandra group<sup>23</sup> and suggest a date perhaps just before the middle of the century. On the sides of the stele was a painted border of oblique bands, in reserved white and an alternating color.<sup>24</sup>

An interesting feature of this stele is the panel at the bottom representing a running Gorgon in a chiton decorated with meander and spiral patterns. It is apparently the earliest known example of such a panel—a feature which was to remain common throughout the remainder of the sixth century and to add greatly to the variety and richness of the general effect. We may compare the Gorgon with the one on the François vase in Florence,<sup>25</sup> which is similar, for instance in the design of the wings, but livelier in composition. The function of the Gorgon on a grave-

width below 44 cm., above 37 cm.; thickness below 16.6 cm., above 14.5 cm. Noack, *Arch. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, pp. 514 ff., pl. XXI. Island marble.

<sup>23</sup>Kouroi, p. 129 f.

<sup>24</sup>Noack, *op. cit.* p. 515, fig. 26.

<sup>25</sup>F. R. I, pl. 1.

stone was doubtless mainly apotropaic; but possibly she also served to warn tomb violators.<sup>26</sup> At the bottom of the panel is an unusual form of meander pattern, not unlike that on the limestone stele, fig. 4.

The lower part of a stele in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>27</sup> (fig. 62) is closely related in style to that from the Themistoklean wall just described and should be about contemporary. Though the figure is preserved only up to the waist, the surface is in excellent condition and some of the original red color is still on the background.

It is possible that we have the base of this stele. The candidate is a limestone block<sup>28</sup> (fig. 65) in the Metropolitan Museum of which only the front side survives; so there are no traces of a socket to show what kind of sepulchral monument it supported—statue or stele. It is inscribed (*boustrophedon*) as follows:<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa R. E. VII s. v. Gorgo, col. 1650 f. Arthur D. Nock, in a letter refers me to *Odyssey* XI, 634 and his remarks in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1941, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>27</sup>Hymettian marble. Ht. 1.219 m.; width at bottom 44.1 cm., at top 36.6 cm.; thickness at bottom 11.1 cm., at top 9.5 cm. Marks of the drove on back; sides smooth. M. M. A. *Handbook* (1930), p. 236 f.

<sup>28</sup>Ht. 31.8 cm.; width at bottom 85.1 cm., at top 83.8 cm.; greatest thickness as preserved 15.9 cm. Both outer edges at right and left are preserved. Numerous marks of the drove on front and top. Alexander, M. M. A. *Bulletin*, XX, 1925, p. 269, fig. 1, and XXI, 1926, p. 58.

<sup>29</sup>The condition of the letters in the inscription can be clearly seen in fig. 65. I have, therefore, not put dots under the letters which are partly preserved.

Χαιρέδεμο τοδε σεμα πατερ εστε[σιν]  
 [θ]ανοντος 'Αμφιχαρ(ε)ς αγαθου παιδα ἡ-  
 λοφυρομενο[ς] Φαιδιμος εποίησε

"On the death of Chairedemos his father Amphichares set up this monument mourning a good son. Phaidimos made it." If the connection could be made, we should learn the name of the artist of the New York stele, an artist who is known by another work. The issue being important, let us examine the evidence.

The New York stele was bought through John Marshall in 1912 and was said to have come from Athens. The base was purchased in 1916, through John Marshall, and was also said to have come from Athens. In the Museum files is recorded a statement made by Mr. Marshall during a visit to New York in 1919 that the base and stele might belong together. This remark must have been based on Mr. Marshall's knowledge of what the dealers from whom he acquired the two pieces had told him. The reason why more attention was not paid to this important information was presumably that it seemed to be a surmise incapable of proof. There is some evidence, however, which reinforces the statement.

The second signature by Phaidimos is on a three-stepped limestone base in Athens which once supported the statue of a maiden of Hymettian marble.<sup>40</sup> The inscription states that some-

<sup>40</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 81. Eichler, *Öst. Jahrb.* XVI, 1913, pp. 86 ff.; *I. G. I.*, 1012.

one (the name is missing) erected the monument, which was beautiful to behold, of a dear daughter (the name is again missing) and that Phaidimos made it (Φαιδιμος ἐργασατο). The memorial was therefore sepulchral. Of the statue only parts of the sandalled feet have survived (fig. 63). A comparison between these feet and the feet of the New York stele is difficult, for the former are in the round, the latter in rather low relief; nevertheless such a comparison brings out striking similarities.

In his publication of the Athenian monument Dr. Eichler gave an excellent anatomical analysis of the feet of the maiden and mentioned the following characteristics: (1) each toe is an independent member and the big toe is separated from the others by a considerable distance; (2) the four smaller toes point downward and the big toe upward; (3) the nails are rather summarily executed; (4) the metatarsal bones are faintly indicated; (5) the joints of the toes between the first and second phalanxes are thickened and knobby and the phalanxes themselves are strikingly slender. An examination of the feet of the New York stele (fig. 64) shows that all these characteristics apply also to them, except the first one, which would of course not be applicable to a relief. The downward direction of the toes and the faint indication of the metatarsal bones can be paralleled on contemporary works. But the thick, knobby joints and slender phalanxes are highly individual renderings, and rarely, if at all,



46 ARCHAIC ATTIC GRAVESTONES  
occur, except on Phaidimos' kore and the New York stele.

From this evidence it seems possible that the New York stele and base belong together and that the youth is another work by the sculptor Phaidimos. Phaidimos would then become the earliest Attic sculptor known by name whose style and work we are able to visualize.

Only the middle portion of a youth carved in relief is preserved on a fragment of a stele found in Athens<sup>41</sup> (fig. 60). The almost vertical position of the right arm, with hand laid flat against the thigh, suggests a date before the middle of the century.

A piece of a marble stele from the Themistoclean wall<sup>42</sup> (fig. 59) may also be assigned to this period. It consists of part of a shaft, with the top of a man's head in relief and above it a smooth portion; on the latter the upper part of the man's spear is incised as well as three horizontal lines, acting as a border at the bottom. Some of the upper portion has been tooled away—probably at the time when the fragment was put into the wall. On account of the wavy surface of the hair,

<sup>41</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 35. Pentelic marble (Lepsius). Ht. 47 cm.; width below 38 cm.; thickness 13 cm. Coe, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 9, pl. VII.

<sup>42</sup>In the National Museum, Athens. Ht. 56 cm.; width at bottom 36.5 cm., at top 34.5 cm.; thickness at bottom 16 cm., at top 15 cm. Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, p. 541 f.; Bulas, *Chronologia*, p. 51, fig. 41. Mr. Beazley comments: "May the spear not be an acanthis held slanting as in the other stele from the Themistoclean Wall?" (i.e. fig. 61).

ABOUT 575-545 B.C.

47

which resembles that of the youth on a stele in New York (figs. 74, 78), Bulas<sup>43</sup> suggested a date in the third quarter of the sixth century. But such wavy surfaces occur also earlier, for we find

them, for instance, on the Tenea and Volomandra kouroi.<sup>44</sup> So a date in the second quarter would also be possible. We shall come back to this stele later (cf. p. 113), for it presents an interesting problem.

Still another stele of a youth, said to be from Thebes and now in the Boston Museum,<sup>45</sup> probably belongs here (figs. 56 and 8). It is in five fragments with considerable portions missing. The youth is represented in relief, holding up in one hand a branch of pomegranates, while from his other wrist hangs an aryballos or oil bottle. He is therefore an athlete. Though the stele has been assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century, an earlier date is I think indicated by the undevel-

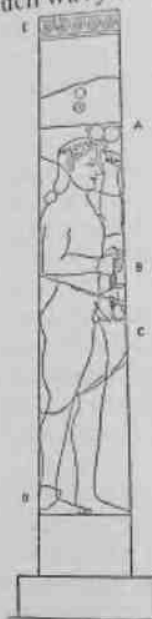


Fig. 8

<sup>43</sup>*Chronologia*, p. 105.

<sup>44</sup>*Kouroi*, nos. 51, 58.

<sup>45</sup>Caskey, *A. J. A.* XV, 1911, pp. 293 ff. and *Catalogue*, no. 11; Pentelic marble (Caskey). In five fragments. The original height of the shaft has been computed to have been 2.34 m.; width at level of top of head 35.5 cm.; thickness at top 11.5 cm.

oped skull, the flat eye, the primitive ear—renderings which connect it with the Volomandra group of kouroi of about 560-550.<sup>46</sup> The anatomical rendering of the leg in the region of the knee by prominent ridges and deep furrows also tallies with that period. Above the youth's head is a flat surface on which is the beginning of an inscription running vertically upward, evidently the youth's name. Only two letters  $\theta\sigma$  and the vertical stroke of a third have survived. Judging by the fragment from the Themistoklean wall (fig. 59), the smooth portion may have been higher than it is wide, leaving room for several letters. If the name were Attic,  $\theta\sigma$  should be transliterated  $\theta\sigma\upsilon$ , i.e. the Attic contraction of  $\theta\epsilon\omega$ ,<sup>47</sup> the beginning of numerous names. But if the stele was really found in Thebes, it was presumably set up for a Boeotian, and  $\theta\sigma$  must then be the beginning of a name in  $\theta\sigma\iota\upsilon\omega$ , since several such are known from Boeotia.<sup>48</sup>

As the stele was found in Boeotia, the question comes up whether it is the work of an Athenian or a Boeotian sculptor. The type is, as far as we know, Attic, but naturally in near-by Boeotia an Athenian form of monument might occasionally have been copied. The execution is somewhat provincial and rather suggests local work. And there is a possible other clue. The extant Attic stelai of this period regularly have dove marks

on the sides or back.<sup>49</sup> The stele in Boston has no such marks.<sup>50</sup> Back and sides are carefully smoothed. This may of course be due to chance—that is, to the individual taste of the workman—but it may also indicate a different practice.

This closes our survey of the extant parts of stelai that can with some confidence be assigned to the second quarter and middle of the sixth century. Let us now pick up the pieces and make a reconstruction of a complete monument (fig. 9). By using the Kerameikos swordsman, the New York legs, the Gorgon panel from the stele of the Themistoklean wall, and the base signed by Phaidimos, we obtain the shaft and the support. There may have been an additional smooth portion with some incisions



Fig. 9

<sup>46</sup>Kouroi, p. 129 f.

<sup>47</sup>See Bechtel, *Personennamen*, pp. 202 ff.

<sup>48</sup>As Miss Milne has pointed out to me; cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.*

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Richter, *A. J. A.* XLVI, 1943, pp. 188 ff.

<sup>50</sup>So Mr. Caskey informs me.



above the relief, as in the Boston stele and the fragment from the Themistoklean wall, but the stele with the swordsman from the Kerameikos shows that this was not a necessary feature. The panel at the bottom was doubtless also sometimes omitted. By surmounting the shaft with the lotos capital we obtain one of the two crowning members. Between it and the shaft there may have been a torus moulding, as in the early sphinx monument (fig. 5) and in the Lamp-trai capital (cf. p. 35); but again this is not necessary, as is shown by the stele of the Kerameikos swordsman (fig. 55). At the very top we must place one of our sphinxes. I have chosen Akropolis 682, for it is comparatively well preserved. Since, however, like all other extant marble sphinxes of this period, it has no paws or tail, we must borrow these parts from the complete bronze statuette from Perachora.<sup>51</sup> The whole makes, I think, a rich and harmonious ensemble.

In essentials the monument is the same as in the preceding period, that is, it consists of four parts, each carved in a separate piece—a rectangular base, a tall, decorated shaft tapering toward the top, a cavetto capital, and a surmounting sphinx. But each part has changed and developed in line with the general trend of Greek art at the time.

<sup>51</sup> Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 135, pl. 43, no. 1.

## III

ABOUT 550-525 B.C.

TYPE I c

IN THE preceding two chapters we have discussed the stelai of the late seventh and the first half of the sixth century. We shall now begin our survey of the Attic stelai of the second half of the sixth century, particularly of the third quarter. The Metropolitan Museum possesses three monuments of this period, two of which on account of their importance I propose to make the chief subject of our study.

We may begin with a stele of which only the lower part is preserved<sup>1</sup> (fig. 66). It was decorated in relief with a warrior, of whom the greaved legs<sup>2</sup> and the lower part of the spear remain. On either side is a guilloche border, which doubtless framed the whole relief, like

<sup>1</sup>Hymettian marble. Put together from three fragments without restorations, except for slivers at the junctures. Ht. as preserved 1.421 m.; width at bottom 51.1 cm., at top 46.7 cm.; thickness at bottom as preserved 5.2 cm. (the back is missing and has been restored in plaster). Ht. of warrior, as preserved, 82.4 cm. Ht. of panel, between two bands, 34.3 to 34.8 cm.; width at bottom 50.2 cm., at top 49.1 cm. Marks of the drove on background of reliefs and on front of plinth; sides smooth. Richter and Hall, *M.M.A. Bulletin* II, no. 8 (April 1944) p. 235 (ill.), pls. II, III (in color), and a forthcoming article in the *A. J. A.*

<sup>2</sup>The greaves do not extend to the back of the calf, as most Greek greaves do. For other instances of such narrower greaves cf. e. g. the warrior on the amphora no. B 273 in the British Museum and the Amazon on the amphora no. 1410 in Munich (*G. V. Munich*, fasc. 1, pl. 42, no. 3).

the tongue pattern round the Kerameikos swordsmen (fig. 55). There are extensive traces of the original polychromy. The guilloche pattern was in four colors—red, blue, and green bands with black centres; the greaves and spear were blue; the background red. No color remains on the nude areas.

The plinth on which the figure stands has considerable depth. This device has enabled the sculptor to represent one foot convincingly behind the other and the spear behind the farther foot. Compared to previous renderings this is a great advance (cf. figs. 62 and 83). The bottom of the projecting plinth was not smoothed like the top but left roughly tooled—another instance of the Greek practice of leaving parts which did not show unfinished. The bottom of the shaft was also left rough, for insertion in the rectangular base.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this stele is the panel at the bottom, incised, with portions slightly sunk (fig. 67). The subject is familiar from Attic vase paintings.<sup>5</sup> A warrior is mounting a four-horse chariot, while the charioteer holds the reins taut. The warrior has a chiton, cuirass, crested Corinthian helmet, round shield, sword, spear.\* The charioteer holds a goad as well as the reins and wears a Corinthian helmet, which is crestless, like that of the chari-

oteer on the Corinthian krater with Amphiaraios (fig. 68); also a chiton, which he has pulled over his belt to form a pouch; the pouch is represented in profile, the folds it causes in full front.<sup>6</sup> The bounding lines of the chiton on neck and arm are not incised and must have been indicated by the contrasting tones on flesh and chiton; for the upper part of the body is not nude and the chiton wrapped round the middle, as one might think. When a garment is so worn the rendering is always clear and convincing; that is, the folds of the bunched material are marked, as, for instance, on the youths of an amphora in Munich.\*

The horses wear bridles, collars, and belly bands. The reins connect directly with the horses' bits; there are no guide reins. All the reins of the two right-hand horses are held in the charioteer's right hand; all those of the two left-hand horses in his left hand, with the goad. Instead of eight loose ends hanging vertically down, only one is indicated (by a lightly incised line); the others were perhaps painted. It may be noted that the axle of the wheel does not connect with the body of the chariot—a curious rendering found also in some black-figured vase paintings. The horses stand with the hoofs of their near legs on the ground, those of the far legs slightly lifted,

<sup>5</sup>For similar renderings cf. e. g. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 88 (Neoptolemos), pl. 51, no. 209, pl. 40 (women), pl. 52, no. 213, etc.

<sup>6</sup>No. 1416, *G. V. Munich*, fasc. 1, pl. 50. Cf. also Langlotz, *op. cit.* pls. 40 (Perseus) and 110, no. 395.

\*Wrede, *Att. Mitt.* XLI, 1916, pp. 250 ff.

\*The warrior's left foot below the rim of the wheel was painted the color of the background by mistake.

pawing the ground. They have been waiting for the arrival of their master and are eager to be off.

The fine contours of the horses' bodies, the beautiful curves of the tails, the varied design of the legs and balancing intervals, the effective contrast of the quiet charioteer and the animated warrior, the pleasant empty space over the horses all contribute to the beauty of the composition. And this was further enhanced by the color. Enough traces have fortunately remained here and there to enable us to reconstruct the general scheme as follows: black for the background with a red band along the top and bottom; red for the two off horses, including manes, tails, bodies, and legs, but not their hoofs or eyes, which are black. Black for the hoofs, manes, and eyes of the near horses. Red for harness, including bridles, reins, yoke, collar, and belly band; also goad. Red for chariot, including body, wheels, and pole, but not hub of wheel, which is black; also for warrior's chiton, shield, crest, and stem of crest support, but not the crest support itself, which is black. Black for warrior's cuirass. No color is now visible on near horses' bodies, nor on flesh of human figures, nor on helmets, sword, and spear, nor anywhere on the charioteer. What their original colors were we can only guess.<sup>7</sup>

The renderings of chariot pole and tails give the clue to the position of the horses. The two

<sup>7</sup>The traces of color were in some cases only discovered (in 1942-1943) after lengthy examination with the magnifying glass on the part of Miss Alexander, Mr. Hall, Mr. Hauser,

whose heads show entire—one with head lowered, the other with it raised—are on the near side, those which are mostly hidden are on the offside; and of these the one with head raised is third from the front, the one with it lowered fourth. This symmetrical arrangement is the norm on the many Corinthian and Attic representations of four-horse chariots (cf. figs. 68, 69).<sup>8</sup> It is true that many archaeologists, for instance W. Wrede in his article on the "Kriegers Ausfahrt in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst,"<sup>9</sup> have explained the order of the horses differently, namely that the two horses whose heads are lowered and furthest front are side by side as the first and second horse, and those whose heads are raised and at the back are third and fourth. That this interpretation is not correct was first suggested to me by Dr. Aldis Hatch, Jr., of Yale University, and has since been conclusively shown by Miss Alexander in a little paper model, in which every part fell into position as represented on our panel.<sup>10</sup> The chariot pole is between the two near and the two off horses, the tails of the two near

and myself. Every trace was checked by the four of us and only admitted if all agreed as to its presence. On a diagram in the Metropolitan Museum these traces have been marked for future control. Colored restorations by Mr. Hall of this stele have been published in the *M. M. A. Bulletin* (see above) and will appear in a forthcoming article in the *A. J. A.*, together with a tentative reconstruction of the whole color scheme.

<sup>8</sup>For a different arrangement on an East Greek amphora in Würzburg cf. Langlotz, *op. cit.*, I, no. 131, pls. 16-17.

<sup>9</sup>*Ath. Mitt.* XLI, 1916, pp. 292 ff.

<sup>10</sup>The model is in the files of the Metropolitan Museum.

horses are on this side of the pole, those of the off horses on the other side, and the sixteen legs are correctly apportioned to their four respective bodies. The representation is therefore based on direct observation of nature.

The black background is unusual in stone reliefs, the prevalent shades for such backgrounds being red and blue. As the general color scheme recalls red-figured vase-painting—which was being introduced at about this time—we may surmise that it was not confined to pottery but was used also on panels and perhaps murals. At all events our marble panel is valuable new evidence for our visualization of Greek paintings at this period. It ranks with the stele of Lyseas (fig. 94) as the most important archaic Greek painting on marble that has survived;<sup>11</sup> and it is not very far in date from the wooden tablets recently discovered near Sikyon.<sup>12</sup>

That our stele may be assigned to about 535-525 is indicated by the rendering, for instance, of the drapery. The representation of the warrior's chiton over the thighs in two parts is like that on Attic vase-paintings of that period.<sup>13</sup> The folds

<sup>11</sup>On such paintings and their color schemes cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, pp. 12 f., 494; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, pp. 151 ff., and the references there cited; also K. Müller, *Arch. Anz.* 1922, cols. 1 ff. and my pp. 107 ff.

<sup>12</sup>Schefold, *Arch. Anz.* 1934, col. 194 f.; Orlandos, *A. J. A.* XXXIX, 1935, p. 5; E. P. Blegen, *A. J. A.* XXXIX, 1935, p. 134. In these tablets, however, the backgrounds are light, and the colors comprise blue, black, white, and two shades of red.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. e. g. Munich 1379, *C. V.* Munich, fasc. 1, pl. 13, no.

of the charioteer's chiton, stacked asymmetrically in two directions and represented in full front on a profile figure recall renderings on the Siphnian frieze.<sup>14</sup> The horses with their full bodies and handsome contours and with their hoofs slightly lifted remind us of those by Exekias<sup>15</sup> and other vase painters of the third quarter of the century, as well as those on the Siphnian frieze.<sup>16</sup>

A warrior mounting a chariot occurs on black-figured vases from the time of the Amphiaros krater in Berlin<sup>17</sup> (fig. 68)—that is, the second quarter of the sixth century—through the sixth century and into the fifth (cf. fig. 69). In all these representations a similar scheme is used, according to the archaic Greek practice of adhering for a considerable time to one type or composition with variations in details.<sup>18</sup> On the Amphiaros krater the house and relatives of the departing warrior are depicted and identified by inscriptions.<sup>19</sup> They suggest that we may interpret all such scenes as departures of heroes setting out

2 (crouching warrior); Würzburg, no. 247, Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 67 and Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, IV, pl. CCLXVI; *B. S. A.* XXXII, 1931-1932, pl. 7b.

<sup>14</sup>E. g. *F. d. D.* IV, pls. XIII-XIV.

<sup>15</sup>Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 2.

<sup>16</sup>*F. d. D.* IV, pls. IX-X.

<sup>17</sup>*F. R.* III, pl. 121; Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.* XLI, 1916, pp. 250 ff.

<sup>18</sup>Wrede, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 ff., 250 ff., pl. XV.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. also the scenes cited by Hafner, *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht* (Diss. 1938), p. 41 f.

for battle in their chariots.<sup>20</sup> Is then the departing warrior on our gravestone a specific mythical hero like Amphiaraios? Or is he the dead man who is commemorated by the monument, represented starting into battle in his chariot? The latter possibility can hardly be envisaged, for the creation of the phalanx long before this time presumably put an end to war chariots in Greece proper.<sup>21</sup> But neither is a purely mythological scene likely for a gravestone; at least we know of none in this period. It seems more probable that the warrior who died is likened to a mythical hero. Such parallels were of course common in Greek poetry and art. We need only remember Pindar's Epinikian Odes, in which the feats of victorious athletes are compared with those of the heroes of old, and the representations of mythical contests on buildings, for instance on the Parthenon, which doubtless recalled the victorious struggle of Greece against Persia. The chariot may moreover point to the aristocratic lineage of the dead man, like the horsemen on the Lamptraï and other stelai (figs. 43, 100, 101); for chariots and horses were the appanage of the privileged.<sup>22</sup>

It is also possible, as Mr. Beazley has suggested to me, that "the custom of riding in chariots,

<sup>20</sup>This rules out, I suppose, the possibility of interpreting the scene as an apotheosis.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. e. g. Marbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* IVA, s. v. *Streitwagen*, cols. 349 f.; Lammert, *ibid.* XIX, s. v. *Phalanx*, cols. 1625 ff.

<sup>22</sup>Lammert in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* VIII, s. v. *ἵπποις*, cols. 1689 ff.

dressed in armour, survived in parades and processions." As he points out, the scene on our gravestone "should be analogous to those on the Hockey base, where, whatever the meaning, the side-scenes can hardly be taken from myth, seeing that the scene on the front is certainly taken from everyday life." Or, again as Mr. Beazley points out, the warrior might be an apobates; "there seem to be no representations of apobates before the fifth century, but it is likely enough that there was continuity between the apobates race of that period and the use of chariots in warfare before the dominance of the phalanx; and if there was an apobates race in the sixth century, the driver may have worn a helmet."

We can connect with this warrior memorial several others which also may be assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century.

A stele which was found at Ikaria<sup>23</sup> in 1888 represents a man holding a spear and wearing greaves, a chiton, and a cuirass with shoulder pieces (fig. 70). Though the head is missing, we know that he wore a helmet, for part of the crest appears beyond the shoulder. Beneath the relief are four eight-leaved rosettes, supplying a charming border. The folds of the chiton, stacked vertically in one direction, recall those of figures on the Siphnian frieze and on vases by the

<sup>23</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 3071. Pentelic marble. Ht. 1.71 m.; width at bottom 49 cm., at top 42.5 cm.; thickness at bottom 14.5 cm., at top 12 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.*, I, no. 3, pl. 2, 2; Buck, *A. J. A.* V, 1889, pp. 9 ff., pl. I.

Andokides Painter. A date around 530-525 is indicated.

Of a stele in Berlin, from the Sabouroff Collection, only the head and part of the spear are preserved (fig. 72);<sup>24</sup> and the surface is not in good condition. Enough remains, however, to show that it was a distinguished work. The style of the eye and ear, as far as one can judge, points to a mid-sixth-century date.

A fragment of another warrior stele was found in the Themistoklean wall (fig. 10).<sup>25</sup> In spite of its wretched condition, the head of a bearded man with a Corinthian helmet has been recognized. But whether the fragment belongs to this or the preceding period is difficult to say. On the top surface of the slab is a dowel hole for the fastening of an upper member.

For the visualization of the head of the New York warrior a beautiful fragment of a stele, also in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>26</sup> serves best (fig. 71). Its surface, except for some chips, is admirably preserved, with traces of red color on

<sup>24</sup>Parian marble (Lepsius). Ht. 28 cm.; width 34 cm.; thickness 14 cm. Once in Athens, in the possession of G. Finlay. Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, pl. II; Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 6, pl. V.

<sup>25</sup>Athens, National Museum. Island marble (Lepsius). Ht. 83 cm.; width at bottom 66.5 cm., at top 62 cm.; thickness 14.5 cm. Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, pp. 554 ff., fig. 34.

<sup>26</sup>Fine-grained, white marble, probably Parian. Ht. 26 cm.; width 39.4 cm.; thickness 10.2 cm. Marks of the claw chisel on back, of the drove on sides and background of relief.

background and hair (the wavy surface of the hair above the fillet probably had strands rendered in color). I know no other example which conveys so well the radiance and quiet loveliness



Fig. 10

of early Greek art as this gently smiling youth. He was apparently represented not as a warrior, for there is no trace of a spear, but as an athlete. The rounded skull, and short, curly hair, the still somewhat primitive ear with its knobby antitragus, the eye with canthus (inner corner) marked by an incised line, and the mouth with lips not meeting at the corner connect the head with the later kouroi of the Anavysos-Munich<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>*Kouroi*, pp. 194 ff.



group. A date around 530 seems likely.

But the most important extant example of a Greek gravestone of the third quarter of the sixth century, or indeed of the whole archaic period, is the famous stele in New York with a young athlete and his little sister (figs. 73-79, 82, 83, 11).<sup>28</sup> We have here the only example that has survived complete with base, shaft, capital, and crowning sphinx. Instead of having to reconstruct an imaginary complete stele we have an actual one before our eyes.

A large portion of this stele—that is, the capital and parts of the shaft and inscribed base—was bought by the Metropolitan Museum in 1911. Previously Berlin had acquired the head of the girl,<sup>29</sup> a plaster copy of which has been added to our relief. Recently the stele has received an important addition. The sphinx which sur-

<sup>28</sup>Fine-grained, white marble. Present ht. of shaft 2.566 m. (formerly 2.663 m.; cf. p. 67). Ht. of capital 68.6 cm.; greatest width 49.5 cm.; thickness at bottom 15.7 cm., at top (of abacus) 26.2 cm., at centre 14.5 cm. Width of shaft at base 54.2 cm., at top 43.9 cm.; thickness at bottom 18.1 cm., at top 14.3 cm. Ht. of base, as restored 23-24.2 cm.; width 86 cm.; thickness 67.4 cm. Marks of drove on sides of stele and on background of relief; on back marks of claw chisel and drove. E. Robinson, *M. M. A. Bulletin*, VIII, 1913, pp. 94 ff. and XVII, 1922, p. 68; Richter, *Ant. Denkm.* IV, 1929, pp. 33 ff., pls. 19-20.

<sup>29</sup>Staatliche Museen, no. 1531. Kekule von Stradonitz, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1902, pp. 387 ff. and *Griechische Skulptur* (1916), p. 15. (third edition by Schröder, 1922, p. 15); Rodenwaldt, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, pl. 2.

mounted it—and of which the paws were preserved on top of the capital—came by good fortune to New York and was found to belong to our monument (figs. 76, 77).<sup>30</sup> At first the upper part of the sphinx was offered to the Museum. As the head seemed strikingly like those of the youth and maiden on the stele (cf. figs. 74, 77-79)—especially the form of the ear, the bulbous nose, the groove at the corner of the lips, and the rendering of the hair—the possibility that the sphinx belonged to the stele presented itself. The conjecture became a certainty when the fragments of the legs arrived and their fractures actually fitted the paws on the capital. The sphinx mounted on top of the tall shaft would have been neither accessible nor safe; a plaster cast of the two crowning members was therefore mounted in place of the originals, the latter being exhibited at eye level. This arrangement had the further advantage that the painted designs in red, blue, and black, which had faded or become obscured by a hard incrustation on the original, could be reconstructed on the cast.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Ht. of sphinx 74 cm.; width with tail 54.6 cm.; ht. with capital 1.425 cm. Richter, *M. M. A. Bulletin*, XXXV, 1940, pp. 178 ff. figs. 1-4, and *A. J. A.* XLV, 1941, pp. 159 ff.

<sup>31</sup>On the sphinx there are traces of red on hair, irises, neck-lace, and on background of meander pattern; black on eyebrows; alternately red and blue on lozenges designating breast feathers; alternately red edged with black, and blue edged with black on long feathers of both wings (outer faces only); red on marble left adhering between wings, on pro-



The impression of the whole monument, which, as now reconstructed, is 13 ft. 10, 11/16 in. = 4.23+ metres high, is almost overwhelming. To mount a heavy marble sphinx on top of a tall slender shaft was indeed a bold undertaking<sup>27</sup> and yet the composition from every point of view is singularly successful. In our imagination we must add a painting on the empty smooth portion below the relief and perhaps also one above the youth's head; for we know that such areas were utilized for decorations.

The sphinx is not only of interest in completing a monument which the Metropolitan Museum has long owned, but is an important piece of sculpture in itself. Of the many archaic stone sphinxes which exist it is the only one which is

jections at back of forelegs, and on marble left adhering between parts of tail; blue on tuft of tail. On the shaft the only colors discernible are red on the background, hair, iris, and inside letters of inscription; black on eyebrow and edges of eyelids of youth (cf. E. Robinson, *M. M. A. Bulletin*, VIII, 1913, p. 94; Richter, *Ant. Denkm.* IV, 1929, p. 36). The capital has traces of red on band connecting upper volutes, on spirals connecting lower volutes, on tongue pattern of Doric cyma, on bands along edges of abacus, and on rosettes; traces of black on rosettes and on Doric cyma. The palmettes and outlines of the volutes on front face now appear light, but were doubtless black. (Cf. L. F. Hall, in a forthcoming article in the *A. J. A.*). The design as now reconstructed in fig. 11 is somewhat different from what we had made out before (cf. fig. 73).

<sup>27</sup>The plinth of the sphinx was let into a socket in the top of the capital and secured by a bed of molten lead and a leaded, iron dowel.

practically complete, with head, wings, paws, and tail preserved. It gives us a new realization of the amazing liveliness and harmony of the composition.

Besides receiving the addition of the sphinx, the monument has recently been changed in another respect. Professor Schrader wrote us some years ago that he thought he could distinguish on the photograph the arm of the girl descending obliquely across her drapery. The surmise proved to be correct and necessitated the lowering of the upper part of the stele; for as it stood the girl's arm was impossibly long. This difficult engineering feat was recently accomplished (fig. 73) to the extent at least that was possible. That is, the fragment with the girl's head was moved down until its lower fracture touched the top fracture of the girl's body in New York. Unfortunately, it was not a cast of the Berlin original, but merely a copy in plaster, the taking of a cast not having been considered possible on account of the extensive color traces; and the fracture was therefore an approximation, not an exact reproduction. Though the bottom fracture of the Berlin copy and the top fracture of the girl's body in New York approximately fitted, they did not form a perfect joint and until we can obtain an actual cast of the Berlin fracture we cannot be certain that our reconstruction is absolutely correct. That it is almost so, however, is evident from the result. Not only are the girl's proportions now more convincing than be-

fore, but the youth is no longer curiously elongated;<sup>33</sup> he has assumed the proportions of the kouroi of his period.<sup>34</sup>

We have filled in the missing portions as best we could by an incised, colored drawing on the plaster and I think we have clarified the construction of the girl's draperies<sup>35</sup> (fig. 75). She wears a peplos and over it a himation. We now think we can distinguish the lower boundary of the kolpos or pouch of the peplos, and so have drawn it lower down than before. The mantle is worn over both shoulders and arms, one zigzag edge falling in front of each arm, another behind it, with the four corners clearly visible at the bottom. The zigzags are therefore single zigzags, not double ones.

This analysis of the folds is important for the much discussed date of the monument. If the zigzags were double, they could, as has been pointed out,<sup>36</sup> be related to early red-figured vase-paintings of about 530. If, however, they are, as we think, single, they can be paralleled on such early works as the Athena on a metope of Temple C at Selinus,<sup>37</sup> the Lyons kore,<sup>38</sup> and figures by Lydos of about 550-540.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Present ht. of youth 1.75 m.; ht. of girl 1.019 m. Reduction from former height 9.5 cm.

<sup>34</sup>Cf. e. g. the Munich and Anavysos ones, *Kouroi*, nos. 113, 114.

<sup>35</sup>In this reconstruction, Professor Bieber, Mr. Hauser, and Mr. Hall have been very helpful.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Bula, *Chronologia*, p. 102 f.

<sup>37</sup>Benndorf, *Die Metopen von Selinunt*, pl. I; Richter,

For the determination of the date the head of the sphinx is also helpful (fig. 79). A comparison between it and the Knidian Karyatid (fig. 80) on the one hand and the Siphnian (fig. 81)<sup>40</sup> on the other shows that it belongs stylistically between the two. The rendering of the hair and the structures of the eye, mouth, and ear are more developed than in the Knidian statue, less developed than in the Siphnian one. As the Knidian Karyatid may tentatively be dated around 550-545<sup>41</sup> and the Siphnian definitely before 525, a date for our stele around 540 is likely.<sup>42</sup>

*Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 405. That the metopes of this temple do not belong to the late sixth century, as Langlotz (*Zeitbestimmung*, p. 37) and others after him have thought, but about 540 I have tried to show, on stylistic grounds, in my *Archaic Greek Art against its Historical Background* (Mary Flexner Lectures at Bryn Mawr, 1941)—the publication of which has been postponed for the duration of the war. Gabrici, on the architectural evidence of the roof revetments, assigned the temple to 580-550 (*Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* XXXV, 1933, col. 250). Cf. also my p. 33.

<sup>38</sup>Payne and Young, *Acropolis*, pl. 23.

<sup>39</sup>Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 31.

<sup>40</sup>*F. d. D.* IV, pls. XXVI and XVIII-XX; IV, fasc. 2, pp. 2 ff., figs. 1-3 and p. 60, fig. 30; *Kouroi*, pp. 150, 192.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. *Kouroi*, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Herodotos III, 57, 58, who speaks of an adverse oracle which was given to the Siphnians while they were building their Treasury at Delphi, and which was afterwards fulfilled in a Samian attack—dated in 525 by its connection with Kambyses' attack on Egypt. In my *Kouroi*, p. 192, I quoted J. E. Powell's suggestion that the sentence τοῖς δὲ Σιφνίοις ἢ τότε ἢ ἀγορῇ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἱερὸν λίθον ἡκαμένον is out of place, in which case the τότε would refer not to the time that the

A comparison between the feet of the two figures on the shaft (fig. 83) and those of the warrior on the stele shown in fig. 66 leads us to the same date. The feet of the warrior are convincingly rendered one behind the other with the staff in the background, and the near foot is made to protrude beyond the plinth, supplying sufficient space for the representation. The feet of the brother and sister, on the other hand, are cramped into the narrow space of the plinth and give the impression of being on top of one another; for, in spite of the bad preservation of the surface, enough remains to show their relation. Since the warrior stele, as we have seen, must belong to the latter part of the third quarter of the sixth century, a date in the earlier part of that quarter is again indicated for the brother-and-sister stele.

oracle was given but to the time of the Samian attack (cf. *Classical Quarterly* XXIX, 1935, p. 151 f.). P. Jacobsthal has now called my attention to Legrand's discussion in *Revue des études anciennes* XL, 1938, p. 225 f., which shows that Powell's emendation is not necessary. M. J. Milne adds: "instances of an asyndetic resumptive *οὖτος* separated by parenthetical remarks from its antecedent (to which Powell objected) are found in Herodotos also in I, 183, II, 140, V, 66, VII, 59, 190, VIII, 134—II, 140 being particularly like the passage on the Siphnian oracle." If we accept Herodotos' text as it stands, *οὖτος* refers to the time the oracle was given, and the interval between the oracle and the attack may have been an extremely short one, since we do not have to allow time for the Siphnians to add marble to their market place and prytaneum. The interval, on the other hand, may have been a longish one, for all we know to the contrary. So 525 B.C. still remains merely a terminus ante quem.

Furthermore a comparison of the head of the youth (fig. 78) with that of the boy on the fragment shown in fig. 71 leads to the same conclusion. The two are intimately related, but the boy is later in style; for the renderings of the eye with a suggestion of the upper lid, of the mouth without the deep groove at the corner, and of the ear with a more developed antitragus, suggest an advance in naturalism. The brother-and-sister stele should therefore be about a decade or so earlier than the head of the boy, which we have dated around 530.

When the stele was published in the *Antike Denkmäler* in 1929 the theory was advanced that it was perhaps erected by Megakles, an enemy of Peisistratos and a member of the famous Alkmeonid family, to a dead son and daughter; for the inscription (fig. 83)<sup>43</sup>

Μνεμα φιλοι με  
πατερ ἐπεθεκε - - - νον  
χουνδε φιλε

was reconstructed to read

Μνεμα φιλοι Με[γακλες με]  
πατερ ἐπεθεκε [Με]νον[ι]  
χουνδε φιλε

"Me (gakles) his father, set me up as a monument to dear (Me)non, with him (lies buried) dear . . ."

The circumstances of the discovery as reported

<sup>43</sup>The fragment with νον is a floater. I have not put dots under the letters that are only partly preserved, as their condition can be clearly seen in the illustration.

ed by John Marshall, who acquired the stele for the Museum, favored this theory. Some of the fragments are said to have been used to line other graves.<sup>44</sup> The excellent preservation of the majority of the fragments, including the sphinx, points to an early burial. Apparently, therefore, the monument had been broken up not very long after it was erected—and for this action the exile of the Alkmeonids some time between 541 and 537<sup>45</sup> would supply a plausible reason. Isokrates<sup>46</sup> informs us that not only were the houses of the Alkmeonids destroyed but their graves were dug up. Moreover, the importance of the monument makes it likely that it was erected by a great and wealthy Athenian family, such as the Alkmeonids are known to have been.

However, it has recently been pointed out, independently by Mr. Wade-Gery and Mr. Raubitschek, that after the letters *νον* there is visible a

<sup>44</sup>These graves are said to have contained only black-figured pottery; but this evidence in itself is not worth much, for we know now that black-figure continued as a current style until the middle of the fifth century.

<sup>45</sup>After the battle of Pallene, for the date of which see *Kouros*, p. 192, note 20.

<sup>46</sup>XVI. 26: τετταράκοντα δ' ἔτη τῆς στάσεως γενομένης ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν τυράννων τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἐμισήθησαν, ὥσθ' ὅπου τε τάκων κρατήσαν, οὐ μόνον τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν κατέσκαπτον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἀνύρυσσαν. "During the state of faction, which lasted all of forty years, they (the Alkmeonids) were hated by the tyrants so much more than were the others that whenever the tyrants' side got the upper hand, they not only levelled the Alkmeonids' houses to the ground, but even dug up their tombs" (tr. M. J. Milne). But see p. 74, n. 49.

speck of the subsequent letter, the beginning of a horizontal stroke placed fairly high. This can hardly be anything but a  $\tau$ , and the word may then have been *θανόντι*, agreeing with the son's name in the dative. But then where was the son's name? The name of the youth for whom the monument was erected must surely have been given. The reading of ME as the beginning of the father's name now becomes problematical. Instead we may perhaps read, as Mr. Raubitschek has suggested:

Μνεμα φίλοι Με[γακλει με]  
πατέρ ἐπεθεκε [θα]νοντ[ι]  
χσυνδε φιλε

"To dear Megakles his father set me up as a monument when he died; with him (lies buried) dear

This reading would take care of the extant letters as well as of the required metre. Megakles then becomes the name of the youth, not of the father. As he presumably was a relative of the great Megakles and also belonged to the Alkmeonid family, the exile of that family some time between 541 and 537 and its possible return soon after Peisistratos' death in 527<sup>48</sup> would still supply

<sup>48</sup>Mr. Beazley suggests as a possibility for the missing words: *Γοργὴ καί ται ἀποφθιμένη*, and Mr. Raubitschek that the two young people died in the plague that carried off Myrrhine (cf. *I. G. I.*, 1009).

<sup>49</sup>A fragment of an archon list recently found in the Athenian Agora indicates that a Kleisthenes was archon 525-524 (Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 59 ff.). Since it is likely

valuable chronological evidence. Either the monument was erected before 537 and destroyed soon afterwards, or it was set up after 527 and destroyed during the subsequent exiles of the family after 514 and after 510.<sup>49</sup> On the whole the stylistic evidence, as we have seen, points to the earlier dating.

However, we must bear in mind that a stylistic date does not necessarily correspond to an absolute one. There must have been progressives as well as conservatives among archaic Greek artists.<sup>50</sup> A conservative sculptor of 525 perhaps worked in the style of 540. It is best therefore to allow considerable leeway and content ourselves with assigning a date somewhere in the third quarter of the sixth century. And of course the name in our inscription may not have been Megakles at all; for there are a few—though not many—other possible Attic names that would fit the requirements; for instance, Μενεκλῆς; or, if we take ME as the pronoun με, Ἀλκμέων and Ἀμυθέων. Ἀλκμέων would of course again belong to the Alkmeonid family.

that he belonged to the Alkmeonid family and perhaps was even the famous reformer of 507 B.C., this suggests that the family returned to Athens before the fall of Hippias in 510.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. *Kouroi*, p. 218. According to Isokrates (cf. my p. 72, n. 46), Alkmeonid graves were despoiled more than once during the Peisistratid tyranny—"unless his statement is an inexact generalization drawn from Thucydides I, 126, 12" (M. J. Milne).

<sup>50</sup>On this subject cf. *Kouroi*, pp. 8 ff.

## IV

## ABOUT 550-525 B.C.

(Continued)

## EMERGENCE OF TYPE II a

THE last chapter was almost entirely devoted to two important grave stelai in the Metropolitan Museum. We must now continue the story of the development of the Greek stele and try to obtain a picture of the grave monuments current in Attica in the later archaic period.

To understand these later archaic monuments it is important to realize an epoch-making change which took place apparently in the course of the third quarter of the sixth century and affected all subsequent stelai. In our analysis of the brother-and-sister stele we omitted the examination of its capital. We must now examine it in detail, for it supplies us with an important clue. It will be noted that it is no longer of the flaring, cavetto type which was used in the first half and middle of the sixth century, but consists of two double volutes of lyre design and painted palmettes (fig. 11). It is crowned by a projecting abacus and itself surmounts a necking moulding, decorated with the familiar tongue pattern, now converted into a Doric cyma. As before, the capital is worked in a separate piece from the shaft, to which it is fastened with a metal dowel leaded through a hole from the back (fig. 82).<sup>1</sup> The plinth of the sphinx which surmounts the capital is let into a corresponding hollow on the top of

<sup>1</sup>For this practice cf. Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XXVI, 1922, p. 271, fig. 9, 3.

the abacus, leaded, and further secured by a leaded dowel (figs. 76, 77).

We have, therefore, a new development of the old type. The principle remains the same—shaft,



Fig. 11

capital, sphinx, each worked in a separate piece—but the capital has changed its shape. To explain this change from the cavetto capital to the double-volute one, we may hazard a guess. The design of volutes with palmettes is intimately connected with the Ionic capital and was presumably

derived from Ionia.<sup>8</sup> At the time that our stele with its new form of capital was set up Peisistratos was tyrant of Athens. It is a known fact that he had close relations with the Cyclades and that during his reign Ionians came to Athens. What more natural than that Ionian influence was felt in Athenian architectural design, as it was in Athenian sculpture.

But if this was the case, the brother-and-sister stele cannot have been the only one that felt this Ionian influence. We must find other double-volute capitals worked separately from their shafts and from their surmounting sphinxes.

The most important example is a capital, of lyre design with angle palmettes, carved à jour, incised, and painted.<sup>9</sup> It is surmounted by a sphinx of which only the head and a few minor pieces are missing. As in the brother-and-sister stele, the plinth of the sphinx is let into a corresponding socket in the top of the capital and leaded, and on the under side of the capital is a large socket (13 cm. long, 6 cm. wide, 9.5 cm. deep) for the insertion of a tenon or dowel, which was leaded through a pour hole.

Besides this well preserved example there are

<sup>8</sup>On the origin of the Attic volute-palmette stele there has been much discussion; cf. Watzinger in *Genethliakon*, pp. 150 ff.; Möbius in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* III A, s. v. *Stele*, cols. 2313 ff., and the references there cited. On the gradual development of the motive cf. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, p. 67, note 104.

<sup>9</sup>In Boston but not yet published; Mr. Edgell and Mr. Caskey have kindly allowed me to mention it here.



three other candidates. One is a fragment found built into the wall of the Dipylon (fig. 12)<sup>4</sup> and described by Conze as "worked separately for setting on a stele, the lower face roughly tooled, at

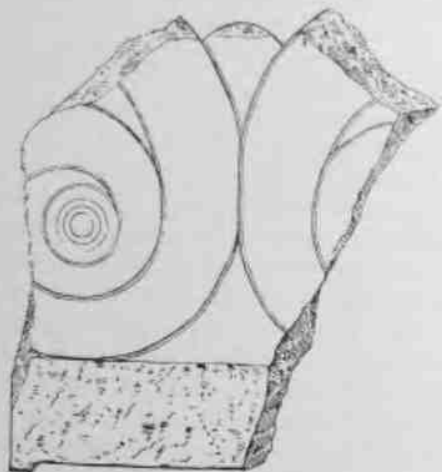


Fig. 12

each end a small tenon (only the left one is preserved). The design, which consists of parts of two volutes in à jour carving, has been restored

<sup>4</sup>Athens; in Conze's and Furtwängler's time in the Varvakeion; now presumably in the National Museum. Parian marble (Furtwängler); Pentelic marble (Lepsius). Ht. 45 cm.; thickness at top 18 cm. The greatest width must originally have been about 52 cm. (Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, p. 11, note 4). Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 25, pl. XIV, 3.

with a surmounting palmette.<sup>5</sup> Instead we may turn it upside down—as Mr. Caskey has suggested to me—restore it as a double-volute capital of lyre design (fig. 13), and crown it with a sphinx.

A second fragment consists of a throat moulding incised with tongues or leaves and surmounted by a volute (fig. 14).<sup>6</sup> On the under surface is a dowel hole and at the back a channel for pouring the lead. This fragment also we can reconstruct, I think, as a double-volute capital of lyre design (fig. 15), once surmounted

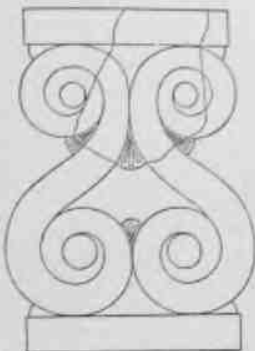


Fig. 13

by a sphinx. The design is particularly interesting, for below the volutes it retains the tongue or leaf pattern which we noted in the early sphinx and Lamptrai capitals (figs. 30 and 43), and which survived in the necking moulding of the brother-and-sister stele (figs. 73 and 11).

The third example which may perhaps have had this form is in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>7a</sup>

<sup>7</sup>By Conze, *op. cit.* p. 11, following Wolters. Buschor (*Ath. Mitt.* LI, 1926, p. 146), however, saw that it was probably part of a double-volute capital.

<sup>7a</sup>Athens, National Museum. Hymettian marble. Ht. 23 cm.; width 27 cm.; thickness below 8.5 cm., above 7 cm. Conze, *op. cit.* I, no. 28, pl. XIV, 6.

<sup>7b</sup>Small-grained white marble, probably Parian, with blackish stains. Ht. 32 cm.; width across lower volutes 45.8 cm.;

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(fig. 16). Two double volutes of lyre design are delicately carved in intaglio on the front face. A palmette was doubtless painted between the two lower volutes. The eyes of the upper ones have

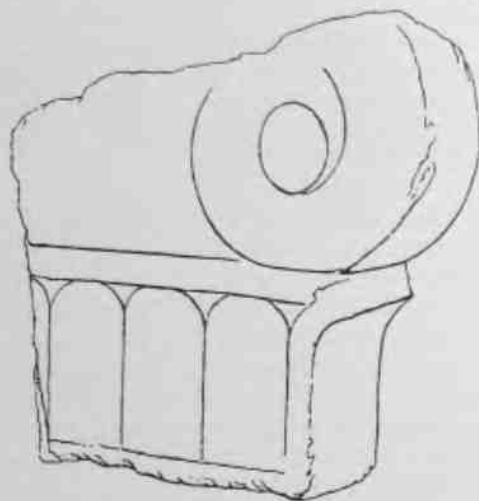


Fig. 14

incised concentric circles, compass drawn. Presumably there was a projecting abacus at the top

across upper volutes 42 cm.; approximate width of under side 38 cm.; thickness below 9 cm., above 7.5 cm. Put together from four pieces, all with ancient fractures. A largish piece which is missing in the middle and a small one at the left edge have been restored in plaster and the missing slivers at the fractures have been filled up. Specks of red color are preserved on the eye of the left upper volute, and the band connecting the two upper volutes was evidently also painted. Marks of the claw chisel and drove on back and sides.

# ABOUT 550-525 B.C.

83

of the capital into which the plinth of a sphinx was inserted (cf. fig. 76). The under side is tooled with a point, evidently in ancient times, but so roughly that the surface cannot be the orig-

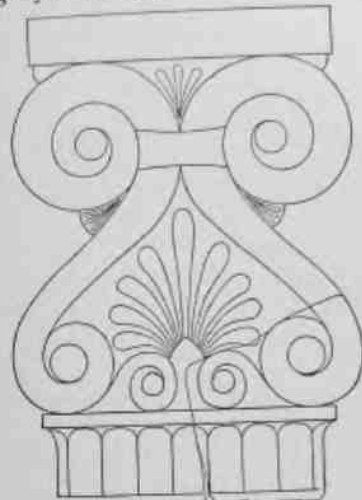


Fig. 15

inal one which fitted on the shaft. Perhaps there was a necking or throat moulding (cf. figs. 76, 11, 15) which was cut off when the block was reused (after the monument was broken up for political reasons?, cf. p. 72). If this surmise is correct the dowel which fastened the capital to the shaft must have been in the missing central portion (cf. fig. 82).

The substitution of a volute capital for the cavetto one is not the only change which took

place in Attic gravestones at this time. Soon an entirely new and simpler type of stele makes its appearance in Attica—the stele with volute and palmette finial, worked in one piece with the

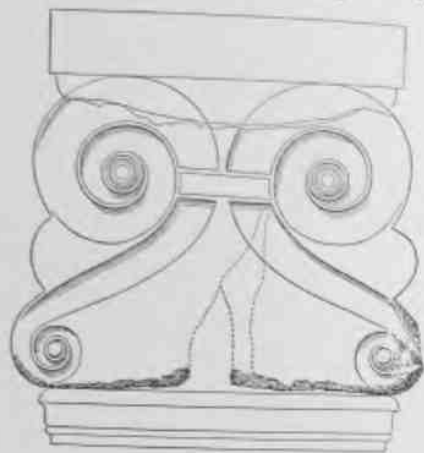


Fig. 16

shaft. The Ionian origin of this type has long been recognized—both because of the close connection of the volute design with the Ionic capital and because the earliest extant stelai with palmette finials were found in Ionia. Buschor in his account of the beautiful examples from Samos<sup>7</sup> traced the development of this type and placed the earliest Samian examples just before the middle and in the third quarter of the sixth

<sup>7</sup>*Ath. Mitt.* LVIII, 1933, pp. 22 ff. Cf. also Evangelidis, *Ephemeris*, 1924, pp. 63 ff.

century. These early examples are double-tiered, the design consisting of a pair of superimposed volutes with palmettes and sometimes lotus buds\* (cf. fig. 85). The third quarter of the sixth century is also the period to which other double-tiered finials from the East have been assigned, for instance, those from the Troad (fig. 84),<sup>8</sup> from Dorylaion in Phrygia,<sup>9</sup> and from Perinthos<sup>10</sup> (fig. 17), a Samian colony in Thrace. Later, after 530 B.C. or so, a pair of single volutes crowned by a palmette became the popular design<sup>11</sup> (cf. figs. 86, 87) and gradually seems to have ousted the double volute.<sup>12</sup>

To judge by our present evidence, this development of the volute-and-palmette



Fig. 17

<sup>8</sup>Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>9</sup>Caskey, *Catalogue*, no. 13.

<sup>10</sup>Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, no. 526; Schede, *Meisterwerke*, p. 2, pl. III.

<sup>11</sup>Kalinka, *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XIX, pp. 63 ff.; Watzinger in *Genethliakon*, p. 151, fig. 7.

<sup>12</sup>Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>13</sup>Of course there are early single volutes and late two-tiered



Fig. 18

finial is echoed in Attica, both as regards form and time. Perhaps the earliest extant palmette stele from Attica is that of Antiphanes (figs. 88 and 18),<sup>14</sup> which was found in Athens many years ago. The shaft is worked in one piece with the finial and is inserted and leaded into a rectangular base. On the finial is painted a double volute of lyre design, surmounted by an eleven-petalled palmette; a smaller inverted palmette is painted below, over a roughly incised lotos ornament.

volutes among the palmette designs on buildings, bronze utensils, and terracotta vases (cf. e. g. Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff., and *Die Tondächer der Akropolis* I, p. 11, fig. 11). But on the finials of gravestones, if we may judge by the examples at present known, the double volutes and palmette preceded the single volutes and palmette.

<sup>14</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 86. Pentelic marble (Lepsius). Total ht. with base 1.56 m. Width of shaft at bottom 31 cm., at top 26.5 cm.; thickness 8 cm. Width

The name Antiphanes in the genitive—Antiphano(u)s—is inscribed halfway up the shaft. Above it a cock was painted over a roughly incised sketch;<sup>15</sup> below it Brueckner thought he could distinguish—on a photograph taken shortly after the finding of the stone—a dog and a snake;<sup>16</sup> but all traces of these have disappeared and they may never have existed.

A stele in New York (figs. 91, 92 and 19),<sup>17</sup> which is partially preserved in three fragments, evidently closely resembled that of Antiphanes (figs. 88 and 18). The crowning palmette is mostly missing, but has been reconstructed with the help of two fragments which could be assigned to the shaft by the similarity of the tool marks on their outer edges. As Greek stelai taper upward both in width and thickness, a study of the relative sizes of these fragments as well as of their designs and surfaces showed that one supplied a bit of the upper end of the right-hand volute with parts of two petals of the palmette, and the other belonged to the top right side of the palmette. Between the volutes is an inverted palmette and, below, a horizontal band of verti-

of base 43 cm.; thickness 26 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 22, pl. XIII.

<sup>15</sup>Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, pl. XIII, 1b.

<sup>16</sup>Brueckner, *Ornament und Form der attischen Grabsteine*, pl. I, 1; Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup>Small-grained, white marble. Ht. as reconstructed 1.135 m.; width at bottom 42.9 cm.; thickness at bottom 8.9 cm. Marks of the drove and claw chisel on sides of stele, of claw chisel on back. Richter, *A. J. A.* XLV, 1941, pp. 161 ff.

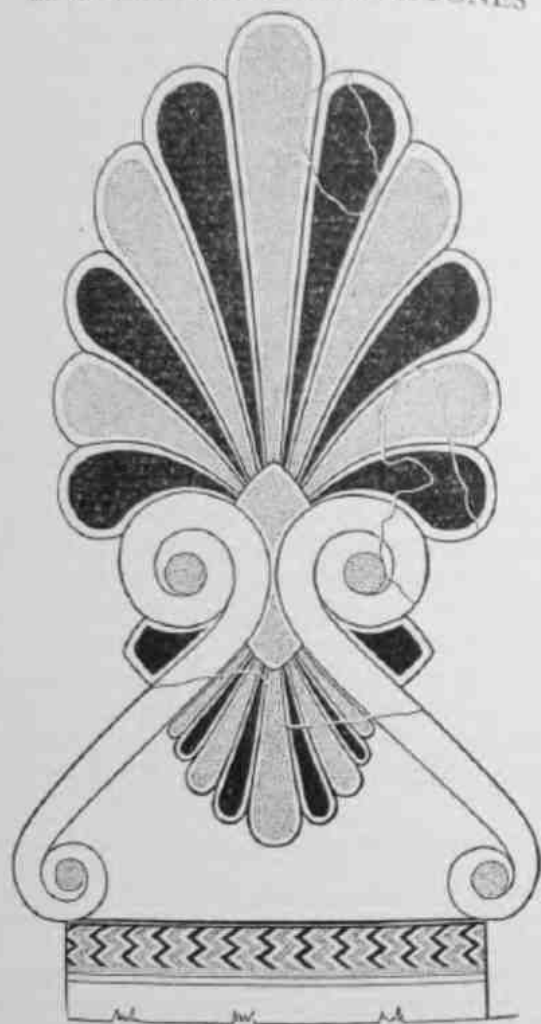


Fig. 19

cal zigzags. The volutes as well as the horizontal lines above and below the zigzags are incised; the rest was merely painted.<sup>18</sup>

Both these stelai with palmette finials may perhaps be assigned to about 530 B.C. The double volutes of the lyre design resemble those on the capital of the brother-and-sister stele (fig. 11), except for the addition of the surmounting palmette. Evidently Ionian influence first changed the cavetto capital into a double-volute capital; then, after this compromise, it ousted the capital-sphinx finial altogether and substituted for it the palmette finial worked in one piece with the shaft. After the third quarter of the sixth cen-

<sup>18</sup>The petals of the palmettes were alternately black and red, edged with reserved white; the centres of the palmettes were evidently red, again edged with reserved white; the eyes of the volutes are red, the volutes themselves were apparently reserved white. The zigzags are alternately red, reserved white, black, and reserved white; above them is a black band, below them a red one. The pointed "drop" emerging from the stem could be reconstructed from a tiny remnant; it must have been black, edged with reserved white. The red is fairly well preserved, but the second color has left only a dark stain, which might be interpreted as either black or blue, except that on the sixth leaf of the inverted palmette (counting from left to right) and here and there elsewhere are seemingly certain black traces. (The latter must have been protected by rootmarks, for they have the form of rootmarks, and similar red marks are on the adjoining petal). That the white zigzags and edgings were reserved white and not originally painted another color is shown by the fact that they are in a slightly lower plane than the adjoining painted areas, and were, therefore, not protected by color (cf. p. 108). A similar band of zigzags appears on Aristion's cuirass (fig. 93).

tury the capital-sphinx finial disappeared. There are no crowning sphinxes, no fragments of capitals which can be attributed to gravestones of the last quarter of the sixth century (cf. p. 112),<sup>19</sup> only shafts with palmette finials.

Perhaps we can suggest a reason for this change from an elaborate to a simpler form. Cicero in *De Legibus*,<sup>20</sup> quoting from Demetrios of Phaleron (Περὶ τῆς δεκαετίας?) refers to an anti-luxury decree which was passed "some time after Solon" and by which, "on account of the enormous size of the tombs which we see in the

<sup>19</sup>The sphinx from Aegina, in the National Museum, Athens, no. 77 (Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitt.* IV, 1879, p. 69, no. 2) is only slightly later than the sphinx from the brother-and-sister stele, to judge by the anatomy of the body, for instance, the indication of the ribs.

<sup>20</sup>II, 26/54 (tr. C. W. Keyes): sed post aliquanto propter has amplitudines sepulchrorum, quas in Ceramico videmus, lege sanctum est, 'ne quis sepulchrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo,' neque id opere tectoris exornari nec hermas, quos vocant, licebat inponi. Cf. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, II B (1929), p. 963 f. The context shows that Cicero (quoting from Demetrios with interpolations of his own) gives a chronological account of funeral customs at Athens from Cecrops (ab illo primo rege Cecrope) to Solon (Solonis lege), to some time after Solon (post aliquanto), and from then to the time of Demetrios himself, i. e. 317-307 B. C. (lege minuit ipse [sc. Demetrios]), when funerary monuments were limited to columellae, mensae, and labella (cf. p. 121). The clause quas amplitudines sepulchrorum is evidently an anachronistic interpolation by Cicero, who naturally did not see the earlier monuments and whose picture of amplitudines sepulchrorum was confined to the later tombs.

Ceramicus, it was provided 'that no one should build a tomb which required more than three days' work for ten men'; nor was it permitted to adorn a tomb with stucco work nor to place on it the Hermes-Pillars, as they are called." This decree has been thought to explain the dearth of stelai in Attica in the first half of the fifth century (cf. p. 119) and has therefore been connected with Kleisthenes.<sup>21</sup> But, if there really was such a decree, it would account not for a stoppage of stelai but for a change from an elaborate to a more modest form. We may imagine that the ambitious, costly tombstones of the brother-and-sister type erected by the Athenian aristocrats were stopped by Peisistratos.<sup>22</sup> Hence their sudden cessation and the appearance in their stead of tombstones of the Antiphanes type. Since these consisted of a simple slab with a palmette and a few painted areas, they would hardly necessitate more than "three days work for ten men."<sup>23</sup> Then after a decade or two, perhaps af-

<sup>21</sup>Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitt.* V, 1880, p. 172; Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen* (1929), p. 9; Hirschfeld in *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* (1893), p. 13; Möbius in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* III A (1929), s. v. *Stele*, col. 2312; Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (1931), p. 7.

<sup>22</sup>On the curbing of the aristocratic power by Peisistratos cf. the recent article by Berve, "Das Athen des Peisistratos" in *Bericht über den VI. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie*, Berlin, 21-26. August 1939, pp. 431 ff.

<sup>23</sup>That is, I suppose, thirty days for one man or fifteen days for two men, since ten men could hardly work on any one stele at the same time. The opus tectorium mentioned by Cicero presumably was the decoration consisting of stucco and of ter-

ter the death of Peisistratos, the law was no longer taken so seriously and the modest, painted Antiphanes type evolved into the slightly more elaborate, sculptured Aristion type (cf. fig. 93). But the costly form of monument with capital and crowning sphinx, after it had once been discarded, was never revived.

There seems to be one exception to the general rule that palmette finials of the second half of the sixth century are worked in one piece with the shaft. It is a curious piece<sup>24</sup> with a remarkable

racotta plaques on the seventh- and sixth-century quadrangular tombs (cf. p. 3); for many of the finest extant funerary plaques belong to the period before about 530, and the later examples (e.g. Louvre, L4, Zschietzschmann, *Ath. Mitt.* LIII, 1928, p. 40, no. 37, Beilage XI) may perhaps indicate a revival of an older practice. At all events the expression *opere tectorio exornari* could well apply to the stuccoed walls and terracotta plaques of these tombs, but not to any other extant decoration of archaic Attic tombs. What the *hermae* were has long been a puzzle. There is no evidence for the erection in Attica of *herms*, in our sense of the word, on graves in the early or middle archaic periods. Could Cicero have meant sepulchral statues, which we know were a form of archaic tomb monument (cf. p. 4), and certainly a costly one? Statues of *Hermes* as well as *herms*, some of the latter in the form of mantled figures, were used as tomb monuments in Hellenistic and Roman times (cf. Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires*, pp. 316 ff.; L. Curtius, *Die antike Herme*, pp. 24 ff.). Cicero, following the usage of his day, may refer to tomb statues as *hermae*. With *hermas quos vocant* we may compare *nudae (effigies) tenentes hastam . . . quas Achilleas vocant* (Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV, 18)—as Dr. Lehmann-Hartleben suggests.

<sup>24</sup>White marble. Ht. 3.66 m.; width at bottom 51 cm. Ht. of finial 67 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 23, pl. XIV, i.

history. Early in the last century a travelling student of the Royal Academy, L. Vulliamy by name, saw a stele inscribed "of Theron" in the collection of Fauvel, the French consul in Athens. A drawing and a description of it were published by Vulliamy in 1825 in a work entitled *Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in Architecture drawn from the Originals in the years 1818-21*. In this drawing the shaft has a finial consisting of two pendent leaf ornaments surmounted by a palmette (fig. 20). The description is as follows: "Very beautiful white marble. It is a very unusual example, it is not sculptured; the surface is flat, and the forms are shown by sunk lines, and by the two colours with which it is painted. The shaft is in a separate piece of marble; it is about 12 ft. high and 1 ft. 8 in. wide at the base. The head is let into the shaft with a tenon, which is run with lead. On the shaft, about mid-way of the height, is a word in ancient Greek letters."

This Greek word, inscribed from right to left, is the name Theron—in the genitive Theronos. The forms of the letters were current in Attica throughout most of the second half of the sixth century, but the fact that the



CONZE

Fig. 20



inscription is written retrograde perhaps suggests a date not later than the third quarter of the century.

After having been "lost" for more than a century, a portion of the shaft of this stele, with the inscription Theronos still at least partly preserved, has recently been recovered in the excavations of the Agora (figs. 89, 90).<sup>25</sup> Its rediscovery in this place is not as surprising as it might appear when we remember that Fauvel's house was on that very site and that, because of his Turcophil tendencies during the Greek War of Independence, his house was destroyed and his antiquities broken up by Greek soldiers.<sup>26</sup> Though

<sup>25</sup>Mr. B. Meritt has kindly supplied me with the following description, which I here copy with his permission: "Agora no. 2056. Height 1.465 m.; width at top 0.439 m., at bottom 0.483 m.; thickness at top 0.115 m., at bottom 0.151 m. Height of letters 0.028 m. A great stele broken off at the top, back and sides finished smooth. Two fine drafted lines run vertically down each side of front face near the edge to 0.082 m. from the bottom where the stele was set into its cutting or socket. Inscribed retrograde 0.42 up from the bottom." The slab was identified as part of Theron's missing stele by A. E. Raubitschek. It is now in the Agora Museum.

<sup>26</sup>Ph.-E. Legrand, 'Biographie de Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel', *Revue archéologique*, XXXI, 1897, p. 217: "Son musée lui manquait; emballé à Athènes dans cinquante-quatre caisses par les soins de Dejean, il ne quitta point la Grèce. Goura et les éphores s'étant constamment opposés à son embarquement; dès 1825 (mai-juin) une bonne partie était brisée par les Palikares (Prokesch, *Denkwürd.*, II, 388): pendant le second siège de l'Acropole, le tout fut enseveli sous les ruines de la maison. Plus tard, un chirurgien français au service du bey qui occupait Athènes fit des fouilles dans ces décombres

we are told that these antiquities, after being buried under the ruins of his house, were later re-excavated, some pieces doubtless remained behind, including the broken slab found by the American excavators.

The finial unfortunately is not included. If Vulliamy's drawing is correct, the piece is unusual in two respects: (1) The design with two pendent leaves tied together with a band has, to my knowledge, no parallel either in Attica or Ionia; (2) palmette finials were, as we saw, regularly worked in one piece with the shaft, whereas Theron's finial was not. Since the design was described by Vulliamy as not in relief, but incised and painted, perhaps it was so faint that it was misunderstood and in reality consisted of the familiar double volute and palmette. Even so, however, according to our present evidence, a palmette finial in a separate piece from the shaft is unique at this period (cf. p. 112), and we can hardly doubt Vulliamy's detailed description of this fact. It seems best, therefore, to explain the stele as a transitional piece. As one of the earliest examples with the Ionic crowning palmette instead of the time-honored sphinx, it retained the old device of a finial in a separate piece.

et en tira quelques pièces; le reste aussi fut sans doute retrouvé; mais Fauvel n'en eut jamais rien."

V

ABOUT 525-500 B.C.

TYPE II b

LET us now pass to the Attic stelai of the last quarter of the sixth century. As we have said, there are no crowning sphinxes or capitals which we can assign to this period. But we have several palmette finials and shafts decorated with reliefs or paintings. As in the earlier stelai, a single figure of a man, in profile to the right, is the favorite type. Sometimes he is characterized as a warrior, in which case he presumably died in battle.

The best preserved warrior stele is that of Aris-tion, "the work of Aristokles," which was found at Velanideza in 1839<sup>1</sup> (fig. 93). The whole figure and the base have survived. Only the top of the shaft with the upper part of the warrior's helmet is lost. A few pieces, including the ends of the crest and of the beard, were worked separately and are missing. The figure is represented standing erect, holding a spear and wearing a chiton, a cuirass with shoulder pieces, greaves, and a helmet. Though now only traces of red on the background remain, some of the painted ornaments on the cuirass can be distinguished by the differently weathered surfaces.<sup>2</sup> The smooth surface

<sup>1</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 29. Both shaft and base are of Pentelic marble (Lepsius). Ht. of shaft 2.40 m.; width at bottom 45.5 cm., at top 42 cm.; thickness at bottom 14 cm., at top 12 cm. The base is 27.5 cm. high, 72.5 cm. wide, 40 cm. thick. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 2, pl. II, 1; Loewy, *Inschriften*, p. 13 f., no. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Conze, *loc. cit.*

below the relief was doubtless decorated with a painted panel.

As Langlotz long ago pointed out,<sup>8</sup> the rendering of the folds of the chiton suggests a date toward the end of the sixth century—perhaps about 510 B.C. Especially distinctive are the folds at the bottom of the sleeve, which are stacked toward a central fold, with zigzags cascading symmetrically downward—a rendering current on late sixth-century sculptures and on vases of the period of Sosias and Peithinos (about 510-500 B.C.).

The lower half of a stele found in Thebes (fig. 95)<sup>9</sup> is evidently closely connected with the stele of Aristion. It is in fact so similar that some have interpreted it as a contemporary Boeotian copy. But a close scrutiny brings out many variations, for instance, in the position of the hand and in the rendering of the flaps (pteryges) of the cuirass. Considering the prevalence of the type, we may best interpret it as another example of an accepted and popular theme.

The upper part of a stele found built into the wall of a chapel at Levi in Attica<sup>10</sup> is still another

<sup>8</sup>*Zeitbestimmung*, p. 65 f.

<sup>9</sup>Thebes Museum, no. 13. Pentelic marble. Ht. 1.23 m.; width 48 cm.; thickness 17 cm. Mendel, *B. C. H.* XXXI, 1907, p. 204 f., fig. 13; Ch. Karouzos, *Tò Movató tēs Θίβας*, p. 18 f., no. 13.

<sup>10</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 33. Island marble (Lepsius). Ht. 79 cm.; width at bottom 46 cm., at top 45 cm.; thickness 16 cm. Conze, *Archäologische Zeitung*, XVIII, 1860, cols. 17 ff., pl. LXXXV, 2, and *Att. Gr.* I, no. 4, pl. III.

example of this subject (fig. 98). A bearded hoplite is represented with crested Corinthian helmet, cuirass, and spear. Unfortunately the surface is much battered; but a date in the last quarter of the century seems likely.



Fig. 21

It has been suggested that this fragment belongs to the same stele as another piece, with the greaved legs of a warrior (fig. 21),<sup>11</sup> which was found built into a house in Athens. Marble and dimensions make this theory possible, but as the subject is common and the two pieces were not found together, one cannot be sure.

A fragment of a stele which was decorated with two men was found at Laurion (fig. 99).<sup>12</sup> Only the legs, two hands,

<sup>11</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 34. Island marble (Lepsius). Ht. 95 cm.; width at bottom 45.5 cm., at top 45 cm.; thickness 17 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 10, pl. VIII, 1.

<sup>12</sup>In Milchhoefer and Conze's time at Laurion; now presumably in the National Museum. Marble resembling that of Sounion (Löwy). Ht. 72 cm.; width at bottom 43 cm., at top 40.5 cm.; thickness 10.7 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 11, pl. VIII, 2; Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitt.* XII, 1887, p. 296 f., no. 260, pl. X.

and the spear or staff held by the farther man are preserved. We have here an attempt at carving two figures within the restricted field of a narrow slab two or three decades later than the brother-and-sister stele. It is instructive to see how the artist solved the problem of representing the man in the farther distance. He showed only one of his legs, carved it in low relief, and merely incised the spear beyond. A comparison of the renderings of hands and knees with those on the stele of Aristion (fig. 93) suggests that the piece from Laurion is rather earlier; we may note especially the thumb shown in an unnatural position.

The lower part of the stele of Agathon and Aristokrates (fig. 96),\* found in Thespiiai in 1865, shows another, perhaps less successful, attempt to represent two people alongside each other in relief. The near youth is nude and holds a fruit in his left hand; the farther one wears a long chiton and mantle. Below is the inscription [M]ναμ' ἐπ' Ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀριστοκράτει "a monument for Agathon and Aristokrates." The form *μναμ* shows that the inscription is not Attic, and the shape of the alphas is Boeotian; so too is the use of

\*Athens, National Museum, no. 32. Pentelic marble. Ht. as preserved 1.04 m.; width 44 cm. Brunn and Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, no. 37 b; Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, fig. 74, p. 63, note 54. Mr. Beazley has called my attention to the fact that the reading ἐπ' Ἀγαθῶν (Six, *Ath. Mitt.* XIII, 1888, p. 146, note 4; Oikonomos, *Ephemeris*, 1920, p. 56 f.) is preferable to ἐπ' Ἀγαθῶν.

ἐπ' with a dative in an epitaph.<sup>9</sup> Whether the sculptor of the relief was also Boeotian is another question.

Still another stele with two figures is in Copenhagen (fig. 97).<sup>10</sup> Again only the lower part is preserved. On it are parts of two warriors, one standing at the back, the other, armed with spear, shield, and sword, crouching in front. It must date from the very end of our period, or from the early fifth century. The provenance is not known and may not be Attica (cf. p. 122).

The well-known stele of Lyseas (fig. 94)<sup>11</sup> was found in 1839 at Velanideza, not far from the stele of Aristion. It still has its rectangular base, which is inscribed *Λυσεῖ ἐνθάδε σέμα πατέρ Σεμον ἐπέθηκεν* "To Lyseas his father Semon set up a monument here." On the face of the shaft was painted a bearded man wearing chiton, mantle, and sandals and holding laurel twigs and a kantharos.<sup>12</sup> Only a few traces of the original colors

<sup>9</sup>See Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* I, p. 110.

<sup>10</sup>Probably Parian marble (F. Poulsen). Ht. 57 cm.; width 49 cm. F. Poulsen, *Jahrbuch*, XLIV, 1929, pp. 137 ff., pl. II and *Katalog over antike Skulpturer*, p. 32, no. 13a. I take it that only the front part of a long spear is depicted.

<sup>11</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 30. Pentelic marble (Lepsius). Ht. of shaft 1.95 m.; width at bottom 48 cm.; thickness 13 cm. Ht. of base 26 cm.; width 70.5 cm.; thickness 45 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 1, pl. I; Rodenwaldt, *Ant. Denk.* III, p. 32, pls. 32, 33; K. Müller, *Arch. Anz.* 1922, cols. 1 ff., Beilage I.

<sup>12</sup>K. Müller, *op. cit.*, col. 6, and others have identified the figure as perhaps a priest of Dionysos; but Mr. Beazley has sent me the following comment: "Kurt Müller's arguments for a priest are not strong: the kantharos was not con-

(dark red on chiton, black on lines indicating folds of mantle) are preserved, but the composition has been successfully reconstructed. Below the principal figure is a panel with a galloping horseman. Lyseas was evidently of knightly rank (cf. p. 34). It is important to realize that the outlines and inner markings of the figures were probably black,<sup>12</sup> not the white color of the marble that they are now. The use of black for contours and inner markings seems to have been a regular practice in painted stelai (cf. figs. 22, 23, p. 106/7, 101). These black painted lines took the place of the shadows created by reliefs and incisions, and of the "relief" lines in contemporary red-figured vase-paintings.

As Langlotz<sup>13</sup> has shown, the arrangement of

finer to libations to Dionysos (Benndorf, *GSV.* pl. 29, 1); nor is a red chiton characteristic of priests of Dionysos. Müller seems to have misunderstood the passage he cites from Artemidoros (*Oneirocr.* ii, 3 p. 84 [Hercher p. 86, foot]); and one might expect a priest of Dionysos to hold ivy not 'laurel'. The predella may represent a jockey: if so, Lyseas was a racehorse owner." On the branch cf. now Seyrig, *A. J. A.* XLVIII, 1944, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. K. Müller, *op. cit.*: "wie Rodenwaldt gesehen hat, Schwarz für die Konturen." Rodenwaldt, however, in *Ant. Denk.* III, p. 32, speaks only of "einige Gewandlinien des Mantels auf der Brust" having "sehr geringe aber sichere Spuren schwarzer Farbe." But that the contours were presumably black is indicated by the fragment in Athens, fig. 101, where the black contour lines are preserved. In the figures on the tablets from near Sikyon (cf. p. 58, n. 12) the contours of the male figures are black, and this is also the case in some Egyptian paintings.

<sup>13</sup>*Zeitbestimmung*, p. 67 f.

the folds of the mantle, which are stacked towards a central pleat symmetrically in two directions, recalls renderings by Euthymides, and points to a date in the last decade of the sixth century.

Several other panels with horsemen have been preserved and evidently also belong to monuments of well-born men. On an example in the Barracco Museum<sup>14</sup> a horseman is represented in relief holding two spears and wearing a sword on a baldric (fig. 100). Of the principal figure on the shaft only the feet and the lower end of the spear or staff are preserved.

A fragment, which was found in Athens many years ago, has a horseman painted in black outline against a red background (fig. 101).<sup>15</sup> The preservation of the black contours and inner markings is an important clue and helps us to reconstruct the original color scheme in other painted stelai.

A fragment of still another painted stele is in the Metropolitan Museum (figs. 103 and 22).<sup>17</sup> On it can be seen portions of the feet of a man in

<sup>14</sup>Rome, Barracco Museum. Parian marble (von Duhn). Ht. 68 cm.; width at bottom 55 cm., at top 54 cm. Original thickness not preserved. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 14, pl. IX, 1; Barracco and Helbig, *Barracco Museum*, p. 27, pl. XXIII.

<sup>15</sup>Athens, National Museum, no. 31. Pentelic marble (Lepsius). Ht. (at left) 45 cm.; width at bottom 47 cm., at top 46 cm.; thickness 15 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 15, pl. IX, 2.

<sup>17</sup>Fine-grained, white marble. Ht. 21.3 cm.; width 24.5 cm.; thickness 9.2-9.1 cm. Marks of the claw chisel at back; sides smooth; along edge of front a few marks of the drove. M. M. *A. Bulletin*, XI, 1916, p. 124.



profile against a red background. The white lines of the contours and of the inner markings must have been originally protected by color, for they stand out on a higher plane than the weath-

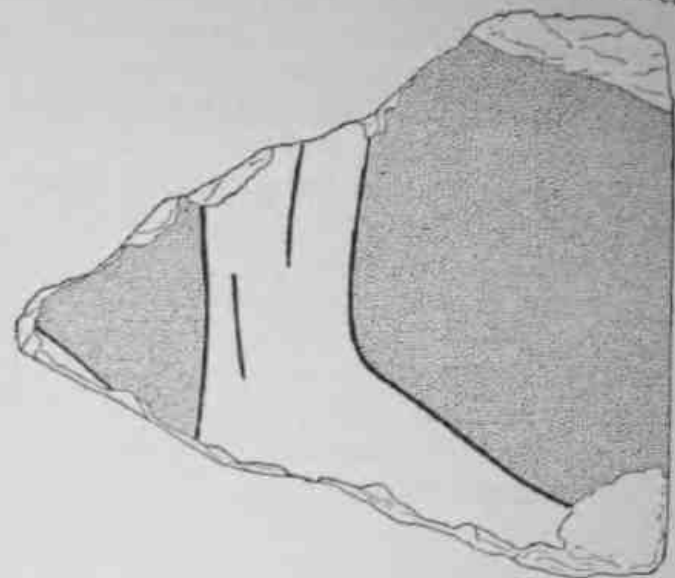


Fig. 22

ered surface of the figure, but are in the same plane as the red background, which was, of course, similarly protected. As in the fragment from Athens (fig. 101) and in Lyseas' stele (fig. 94), therefore, these lines must have been black (cf. also figs. 104 and 23). The fact that the surface of the figure is more weathered than the contours and background indicates that the nude areas must have been left in the white color of the marble, or, more probably, tinted with a thin, unstable wash.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup>For a discussion of this problem, see my article in a

None of these stelai have their finials preserved. One in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>19</sup> with its surmounting palmette in good condition is therefore important (figs. 104 and 23). Though a piece is missing between shaft and palmette there can be no doubt that the two belong together, for marble, dimensions, weathering, and provenance all fit. On the shaft was the figure of a man, of which only the lower part is preserved. As in the stele of Lyseas and the New York fragment (fig. 103), the contours and inner markings now appear

forthcoming number of the *A. J. A.* Cf. also K. Müller, *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, col. 4 f. I have not included the fragments Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, nos. 7, 8, 16, 17, as they probably were not parts of gravestones.

<sup>19</sup>Stele of small-grained, white marble, base of Hymettian. Total ht. as reconstructed 2.25 m. Ht. of shaft as reconstructed 2.023 m.; width at bottom 40.8 cm.; at top 31.2 cm.; greatest width of palmette 40.6 cm.; thickness of

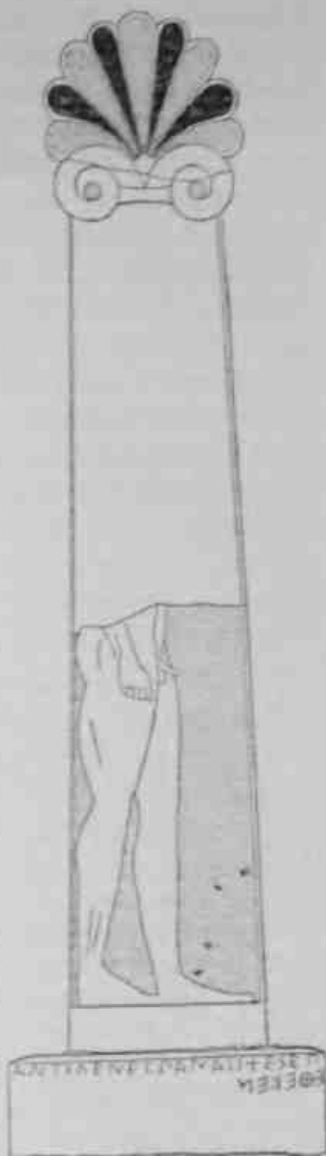


Fig. 23



reserved white, but were doubtless originally black; they too stand out on a higher plane than the weathered surface of the man and are in the same plane as the red background. The figure was, therefore, either white or lightly tinted. The red on the background of the shaft and on alternate leaves of the palmette is still surprisingly well preserved; the second color on the leaves of the palmette, which now appears as a dark stain, was apparently black.<sup>20</sup> The nine-petalled palmette is preserved entire, except for the lower parts of the volutes. Its position at the top of the shaft could be determined by its thickness and width, since the stele tapers upward in both dimensions. The form of the palmette—inscribed as it were in a segment of a circle and with its lower petals slightly drooping—is that current in vase-painting during the late sixth century.

The shaft is inserted in its marble base and leaded. On the base is the inscription, from left to right and right to left: 'ΑΥΤΥΓΕΝΕΙ ΠΑΝΑΙΣΧΕΣ

shaft at bottom 10.5 cm., at top, as reconstructed 9.1 cm.; thickness at top of palmette 8.4 cm. Ht. of base 19.1 cm.; width 63.5 cm.; thickness 50.5 cm. Fragments of the lead which was used to solder shaft and base together are preserved and have been reinserted where possible. Marks of the drove on sides of stele, marks of claw chisel and drove on back. M. M. A. *Bulletin*, XI, 1916, p. 124, fig. 1 ff.; M. M. A. *Handbook* (1930), p. 237 f.

<sup>20</sup>In the half-tone fig. 104, the red, being better preserved, appears darker than the black. The drawing fig. 23 gives the relation of red and black.

ἐπὶ τοῦ κεφαλῆ "Panaisches set this up to Antigenes." Panaisches was presumably Antigenes' father.

Another stele of this type has recently been found in the Kerameikos in Athens.<sup>21</sup> On it can still faintly be seen the painting of a man in profile to the right, holding a wreath in the lowered right hand, against a red background. The single-volute-and-palmette finial is well preserved, except for a few missing leaves, and it is in one piece with the shaft.

A single-volute-and-palmette finial, built into the chapel of St. Theodore in Koukouvaones near Acharnai, also has part of its shaft preserved (fig. 24).<sup>22</sup> Here too finial and shaft are carved in one piece. No colors, only incisions, are now visible on the palmette.

A palmette finial in Athens, incised and painted, resembles the New York example, but has the added feature of angular projections between the leaves (fig. 102).<sup>23</sup> The lower part of the volutes and shaft are missing.

But by far the most important stele with palmette finial is in the Louvre (figs. 105-108).<sup>24</sup> A

<sup>21</sup>Athens, Kerameikos Museum. White marble. Ht. c. 2 m. No other dimensions are given. Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1938, col. 605, note 1, fig. 17 left.

<sup>22</sup>Bluish marble. Ht. 63 cm.; width of shaft 37 cm. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 26, pl. XIV, 4.

<sup>23</sup>National Museum, no. 782. White, coarse-grained marble. Ht. 43 cm. Some red color is preserved. Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 24, pl. XIV, 2.

<sup>24</sup>Inv. MND 1863. Parian marble (Charbonneaux). Ht. with finial 2.16 m.; ht. of finial, 54.5 cm.; width of shaft at bottom 37 cm., at top 32 cm.; greatest width of volutes 37 cm.;

youth wearing a mantle and holding up a flower is incised with bold yet sensitive lines. Traces of red color here and there are all that is left of the original polychromy. M. Charbonneaux right-

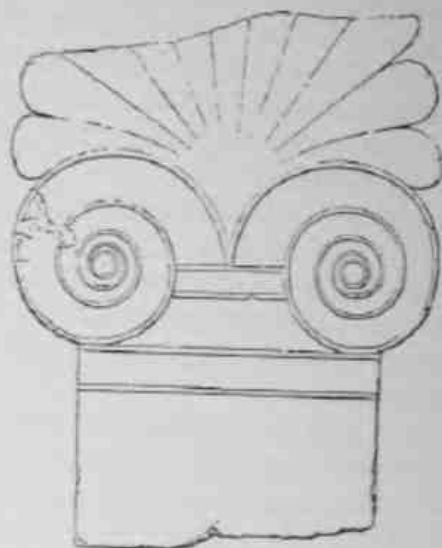


Fig. 24

ly points out that the incised and painted decoration has much in common with contemporary Attic vase-paintings and can help us to visualize

thickness 9.9 cm. Bottom missing; also pieces between finial and youth (including right bottom volute and part of youth's head), at right thigh, at drapery in front of lower left leg, and at right bottom corner. The interior lines travelling upward from lower edge of mantle were painted and have disappeared. Marks of the drove on sides of stele; at back marks of the point or claw chisel? ("simplement piqué de façon très régulière"). Charbonneaux, *Monuments Piot* XXXVII, 1940, pp. 46 ff.

the lost panels and murals which perhaps inspired Attic potters. As he says, the engraved and painted lines of the Louvre stele, which have two distinct values, may be compared with the "relief" and the flat lines in red-figure. And we may add that the lines incised in marble have the same verve and fluidity as the engraved lines in contemporary black-figure.

The Louvre stele was dated by Charbonneaux about 510 to 505 B.C. and was compared with representations by Euphronios and Euthymides. The comparisons are apt and well chosen; and yet is there not a difference? Is not the Louvre youth with his dainty delicacy more akin to figures by Psiax and his contemporaries than to the sturdier youths of the Leagros period? This general impression is borne out by the specific renderings of features, knuckles, fingers, and folds, which correspond to those regularly used by Psiax and Oltos.<sup>25</sup>

A date between 520 and 510 B.C. rather than

<sup>25</sup>Compare, for instance, for features, *A. J. A.* XXXVIII, 1934, p. 551, figs. 4-7; for knuckles of four fingers drawn merely in outline with thumb alongside, *A. J. A.* XXXVIII, 1934, p. 549, fig. 2 and p. 553, fig. 9, *A. J. A.* XLV, 1941, p. 592, fig. 6; for fingers loosely held in fan formation, *A. J. A.* XXXVIII, 1934, p. 548, fig. 1, p. 551, figs. 4, 6, *A. J. A.* XLV, 1941, p. 591, figs. 10, 11, *C. F.* Madrid, fasc. 1, pl. 24, 2; Hoppin, *Handbook of Red-figured Vases* II, p. 202; for folds of mantle, *A. J. A.* XXXVIII, 1934, p. 551, fig. 7; Hoppin, *op. cit.* p. 202; for arrangement of mantle, *F. R.* II, pl. 83, Richter and Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, pl. 4.

in the last decade of the sixth century, therefore, is indicated.<sup>26</sup> And this explains the form of the finial, which is not of the single-volute-and-palmette design, which we saw was current for gravestones in Attica and Ionia in the late sixth century (cf. pp. 85 ff.), but of the earlier, lyre type. The palmette itself appears to be transitional between the Antiphanes and the Antigones stelai (figs. 88, 104); for it is less elongated, more compact than in the former, and its outline could not be inscribed in the segment of a circle as in the latter.

We have, therefore, in the last quarter of the sixth century shafts with figures worked in relief, or incised, or merely painted. But in one important particular they are uniform. Whenever the finial is preserved, it is of the palmette type and is carved in one piece with the shaft, not separately as in the earlier capital-sphinx finials.<sup>27</sup> It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the stelai of this period that have lost their tops had palmette finials in one piece with the shaft and that we may reconstruct, for instance, the stelai of Aristion and Lyseas with such finials.

Another possibility, however, has been envisaged by some archaeologists, namely that these stelai had no finials at all and that their shafts

<sup>26</sup>Mr. Beazley, whom I consulted, wrote me on June 6, 1943: "I am quite of your opinion about the dating of the incised stele in the Louvre."

<sup>27</sup>Some fifth-century slabs, on the other hand, were worked in a separate piece from their palmette finials, for instance,

were horizontal at the top;<sup>28</sup> for the existence of such a type of archaic stele has been accepted ever since Professor Noack in 1907 found a fragment of a stele in the Themistoklean wall (fig. 59) with the top face not fractured but horizontal and tooled.<sup>29</sup> Such a conclusion was of course natural at a time when the current type of Attic stele was thought to have been that with a palmette finial worked in one piece with the shaft. Now, however, when we know that the palmette finials were introduced at a later date, and that at the time of Noack's fragment Attic stelai were regularly surmounted by a capital and a sphinx, one naturally wonders whether this fragment could not also have had such crowning features. As a matter of fact, according to H. Möbius,<sup>30</sup> the top face has anathyrosis and so was presumably prepared for an additional member. Noack, it is true, does not mention a dowel hole for the fastening of this member. Is the stele broken at this point? Or was there a tenon which was tooled away when the slab was put into the Themistoklean wall, as was the case with the lime-

the marble stelai from Nisyros (Mendel, *Catalogue*, I, no. 11, Schede, *Meisterwerke*, p. 4, pl. VI) and in Berlin (Blümel, *Die griechischen Skulpturen des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts*, K 21, pl. 30). Theron's stele (fig. 20), the only sixth-century example with a separately worked palmette, may be dated in the third quarter of the century and explained as a transitional piece (cf. p. 95).

<sup>28</sup>Watzinger in *Genethiakon*, p. 144.

<sup>29</sup>Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, p. 541.

<sup>30</sup>Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.* III A, s. v. *Stele*, col. 2311.

stone slab from the Kerameikos (fig. 55)?<sup>21</sup> Until one can re-examine Noack's fragment it is not possible to come to a definite decision. It would be odd, however, if among all the extant archaic Attic stelai only a single specimen of a current type had survived.

For the second example which has been thought to belong to this type—a stele in Boston (figs. 56 and 8)—is not a reliable witness, even if we accept it as Attic (cf. p. 48). Only a small fragment of the top is preserved (cf. fig. 8): "an area extending back from the face of the stele about 6.5 cm. and varying in width from a bit over 1.5 to less than 1 cm."; and the edge of the top surface is "more carefully smoothed for a distance of about 2 cm. from the face of the stele."<sup>22</sup> So this stele could well have been surmounted by an upper member, to which it would have been attached by a dowel or tenon in the middle of the stone, like the contemporary examples we have examined.

It would seem to be doubtful, therefore, that a form of grave stele with no finial ever existed—even at a time previous to the fourth quarter of

the sixth century, much less at a time when every single extant specimen not broken at the top has a palmette finial. Under these circumstances the Aristion stele and its contemporaries may, as we have said, safely be reconstructed with palmette finials.

<sup>21</sup>That tenons instead of dowels were occasionally used to connect slab and finial in marble as well as limestone stelai is suggested e. g. by an archaic example (fig. 38 and p. 15) and the fifth-century one in Berlin (Blümel, *op. cit.* K 21, p. 24 f., pl. 30; from Karystos, Euboea; time of the Parthenon frieze).

<sup>22</sup>The description is Mr. Caskey's, in a letter answering my queries. He kindly informed me that he agreed "that we cannot be sure whether the Boston stele belongs to [Dinsmoor's] type A [the one without a finial] or not."

VI

ABOUT 500-450 B.C.

TYPE II c

BEFORE concluding let us glance at what happened to the Attic stele after our period. We have confined our study to the sixth century, not for arbitrary reasons, but because this century is a well-defined period in the history of the Attic stele. At the end of it, for about fifty years, the carving of gravestones seems to have practically ceased in Attica.<sup>1</sup> No examples, or practically none, have been found there and none are represented on contemporary vases.<sup>2</sup>

It was a time of course of epoch-making events. The fall of the Peisistratids in 510, the reforms of Kleisthenes and the establishment of a democracy in 507, the long-drawn-out Persian wars with their wide-spread destruction, all left their indelible mark. Even though the specific reason generally advanced for the lack of Attic tombstones during this period—an anti-luxury decree restricting the building of extravagant tombs—perhaps does not apply to this time (cf. p. 91), conditions were certainly not favorable for the setting up of expensive private me-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, p. 7, and the references there cited; also Karo, *An Attic Cemetery*, p. 22. Diepolder points out that the unornamented, inscribed stones assigned by Köhler (*Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, pp. 359 ff.) to 460-440 B. C. must be later.

<sup>2</sup>The earliest white lekythoi on which tall gravestones are depicted apparently belong to the middle of the fifth century.

memorials.<sup>3</sup> The recent excavations at Olynthus have shown that the erection of even undecorated stone stelai on graves was by no means a universal Greek custom.<sup>4</sup> Indeed few sixth-century grave-stones have been found in Greece proper, except in Attica. The average Greek must have been content with a marker of perishable material, such as wood or stuccoed sun-dried brick.<sup>5</sup> The use of ornamented marble stelai during the sixth century even in Athens seems to have been limited to aristocrats and wealthy individuals, who mostly had their own private burial plots.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>There are a few public memorials of course, for instance, the Nike of Kallimachos, erected presumably in 489 B. C., (Raubitschek, *A. J. A.* XLIV, 1940, pp. 53 ff.) and the monument for those who fell at Tanagra 458-457 B. C. (*I. G. I<sup>2</sup>*, nos. 931-2); but they are not numerous (cf. *I. G. I<sup>2</sup>*, nos. 927 ff., and Pausanias I, 29). The theory that might be advanced that there were bronze memorials, since bronze had by that time become popular, could only apply to statues; at least no bronze stelai are known.

<sup>4</sup>D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XI, pp. VIII ff., 135 ff.

<sup>5</sup>One expects some marker on a Greek grave. "In the time of Aristotle at least one of the tests of citizenship for archons was to have *hplā* (tombs) and to give location and witnesses for the fact (*Ath. Pol.* 55.3). Since the word *hplōr*, while familiar in Homer, seems, except in connection with this law, to have dropped out of current Attic long before the time of Aristotle, the law itself may well have been a fairly early one. For obsolete words in 'laws of Solon' see Lysias X, 16 ff." (M. J. Milne).

<sup>6</sup>On Greek "burial areas" instead of cemeteries in our sense of the word cf. Nock, *Classical Weekly* XXXVII, November 15, 1943, p. 65: "The monumental quality of the Cerami-

Then, in the second half of the fifth century, when Athens became prosperous again, stone tomb monuments reappear in Attica<sup>7</sup> and have, as is well known, a long subsequent history, until the anti-luxury decree of Demetrios of Phaleron (317-307 B.C.) put a final end to this art. Henceforth only undecorated stone pillars and other similar markers are found in Attica.<sup>8</sup>

One aspect of the problem we must still consider. It is a noteworthy fact that just at the time when marble gravestones are scarce in Attica

cus is exceptional and reflects the conscious magnificence of imperial Athens in the fifth century and the claim of cultural primacy which was its later surrogate."

"It might be thought that the "Oath of Plataea" pledging the Greek allies, among other things, not to rebuild sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians (cf. Dinsmoor in *Studies in the History of Culture*, p. 214 f.) would help to explain the lack of Attic grave stelai during the first half of the fifth century; for this cessation of public building activities in Athens would of course affect private monuments as well. "The arguments, however, against the genuineness of this oath are weighty ones, as has been pointed out by L. Robert (*Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 307 ff.) and others. Whatever we may think of the other stipulations, the fact that the Athenian Isokrates in his meticulously prepared *Panegyrikos* (over which he spent years of labor and in which he pleaded for Greek unity against Persia) attributes an oath not to rebuild the sanctuaries to the Ionians, instead of to the Athenians or the united Greeks, proves that no such oath was taken by the Athenians. Perikles' proposal to call a Panhellenic congress to discuss among other things the rebuilding of the sanctuaries (Plutarch, *Perikles*, 17) does not imply the existence of any oath, merely a neglect up to that time to repair all the damage done by the Persians." (M. J. Milne).

<sup>7</sup>Cf. p. 90, n. 20; Kirchner, *Die Antike* XV, 1939, pp. 93 ff.



they seem to have been popular elsewhere. We have examples of the first half of the fifth century, for instance, from Thessaly, Delphi, Boeotia, Megara, Akarnania, and the islands of Euboea, Paros, Crete, Nisyros, Syme.<sup>8</sup> They carry on the tradition of the late-sixth-century Attic stelai, that is, they consist of tall, narrow slabs which are decorated with one or at most two figures, and are crowned with volute-and-palmette finials (cf. fig. 27, type IIc)<sup>9</sup>—now occasionally worked in a separate piece from the shaft (cf. p. 112, n. 27). The prevalent view is that they were the work of North Greek and Ionian sculptors. But is it not possible that at least some of them were made by Attic artists, who left Athens during a period of unemployment and found work and perhaps even followers in other cities? The style of many of these stelai is not specifically un-Attic and that they are of local marble only indicates execution on the spot.

At all events, such a theory might help to explain the curious coincidence of the sudden cessation in Attica and the sudden appearance else-

where of a type of monument that had a long tradition in Attica but not in the rest of Greece proper. Archaic Ionian stelai are of course known (cf. p. 84), but, as we have said, few sixth-century examples have been found in Greece proper outside of Attica, and they have generally been considered Attic. That we know a Naxian sculptor, Alxenor, who made one such stele in Boeotia in the early fifth century, is surely no reason for attributing all stelai of the first half of the fifth century found in Greece proper to Ionians.

When Perikles initiated his great building program in the forties of the fifth century, there was plenty of work again for sculptors in Athens. And marble stelai reappear in Athens and begin a new development. They introduce an entirely new type. Henceforth the Attic stele is no longer a tall shaft but a broad slab,<sup>10</sup> generally crowned by a small pediment. It can now accommodate several figures, related in action and sentiment. The quiet scenes of the late fifth and fourth century—of a husband bidding good-

<sup>8</sup>A few stelai have this broad, low form, even though the style of the relief indicates a sixth-century date; cf. for instance, those of a runner, from Athens (Athens, National Museum, no. 1959; Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*,<sup>9</sup> pl. 203; Philios, *Ephemeris*, 1903, col. 43, pl. 1); of two women, from Attica (Athens, National Museum, no. 36; Conze, *Att. Gr.* I, no. 20, pl. XII); and of two women, from Aegina (in the Museum at Aegina; Furtwängler, *Ath. Mitt.* VIII, 1883, p. 375 f., pl. XVII, 2). On none of them, however, is there an inscription that shows that they were gravestones. Unless we interpret them as isolated forerunners of a later type it seems best to assume that they were votive not sepulchral.

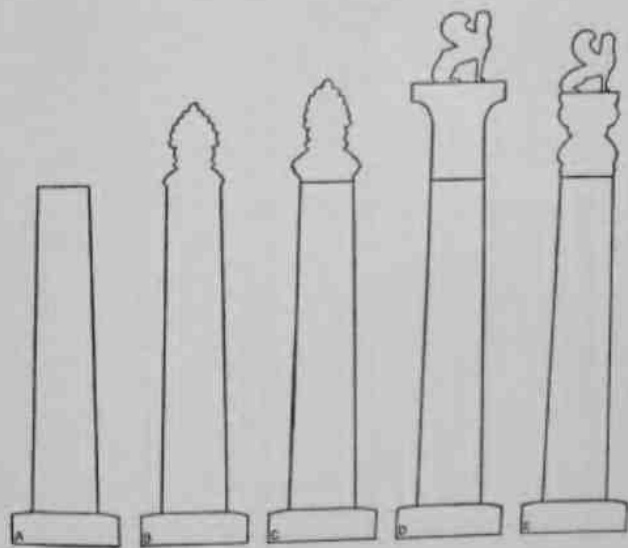
<sup>9</sup>To the list given by Buschor in 1924 in Buschor and Hamann, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, p. 36, other examples can now be added, for instance, the stele at Rhethymno, Crete (Benton, *J. H. S.*, LVII, 1937, p. 42, pl. IV) and the fragment from Megara in New York (M. M. A. Bulletin, VIII, 1913, p. 174; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 447; Blümel, *Arch. Anz.* 1937, col. 56 f., fig. 5).

<sup>10</sup>The Alxenor stele (Athens, National Museum, no. 39) is an exception; it is framed by pilasters on which rests a moulded abacus; its finial is thus a forerunner of the pedimental one of classical times.

by to his wife, of a daughter clasping the hand of her father, of a woman holding her grandchild, bereft "of the rays of the sun"—appeal to our emotion. They are in marked contrast to the sturdy youths of the archaic stelai whose impersonal, detached attitudes give no hint of death. This evolution accords with the trend of the time towards naturalism in form and expression.

## CONCLUSION

THIS brings us to the end of our story. Let us sum up our findings. We have examined the extant Attic gravestones of the archaic period and have tried to trace their origin and development.



*Fig. 25*

We have been able to divide them chronologically into four groups, each covering about a quarter of a century. Among them we have found great masterpieces and no second-rate work.

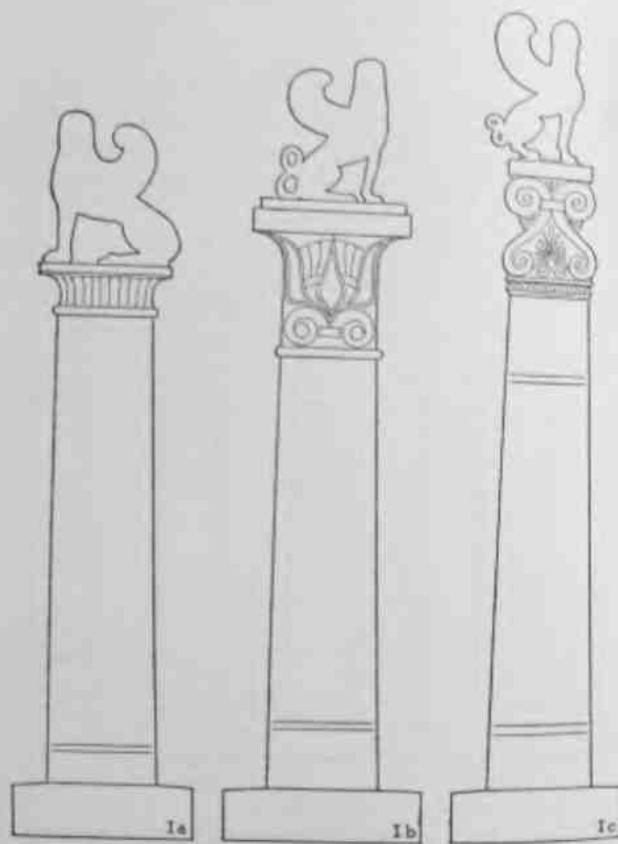


Fig. 26

## CONCLUSION

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They were apparently made largely, if not exclusively, for wealthy patrons. The finding places suggest that many were erected in burial plots on the large country estates of Athenian aristocrats.

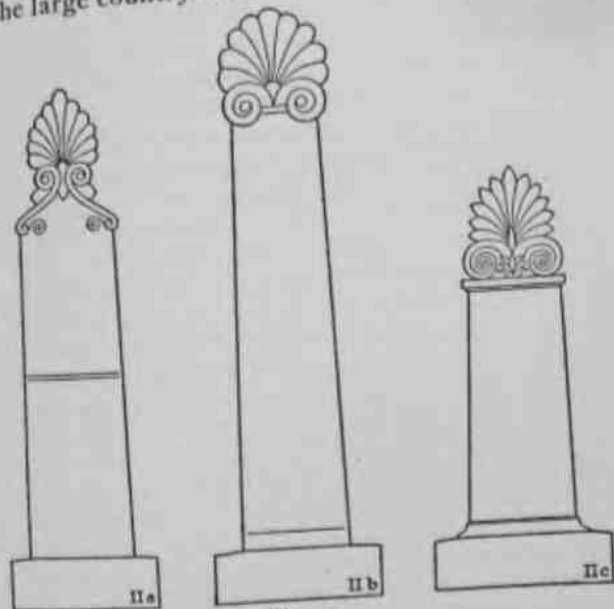


Fig. 27

Instead of the five types of Attic stelai that have been envisaged (cf. fig. 25),<sup>1</sup> we have found

<sup>1</sup>Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.* XXVI, 1922, p. 276, fig. 11. His type A we have seen may not exist; his type C is our type Ic, for the palmette top is based on a modern restoration (cf. our figs. 12, 14); his types D and E are our type Ib and c; his type B is our type IIa.

sound evidence for only two (figs. 26, 27)—an earlier one, type I (prevalent from about 600 to 530 B.C.), with a capital carved in a separate piece from the shaft and surmounted by a sphinx, and a later one, type II (prevalent from about 535 to 500 B.C.), with a volute-palmette finial carved in the same piece with the shaft. The earlier type had at first a cavetto capital (fig. 26, type Ia, b), evidently derived from Egypt; then, apparently through Ionian influence, a double-volute capital (fig. 26, type Ic). Occasionally the shaft is so thick that it resembles a pillar; but this is not a chronological criterion.<sup>2</sup> The second type, derived from Ionia, had first a double-volute (fig. 27, type IIa), then a single-volute design (fig. 27, type IIb). It is simpler than the first, both in size and decoration. An explanation of this change from an elaborate to a modest form is perhaps to be found in a decree quoted by Cicero (*De Legibus* II.26.64), which may be connected with Peisistratos instead of, as heretofore, with Kleisthenes. The dearth of Attic stelai in the first half of the fifth century and the sudden appearance of the Attic form elsewhere in continental Greece (fig. 27, type IIc) can be explained on other grounds.

Incidentally the color traces on several gravestones in the Metropolitan Museum have enabled

us to make some reconstructions which amplify our knowledge of early Greek painting.

The development of the Greek attitude of mind. The early Greek artists, after they had once developed a suitable form, were satisfied to retain it for a considerable time, changing it only in detail. And when a fresh start was made the new type evolved in the same consistent and gradual manner. As in a musical composition, the theme remained constant but was developed and transformed by infinite variations. We found also that historical happenings were reflected in the evolution of the gravestones. The aristocratic Eupatrids, Peisistratos with his Ionian leanings, the cosmopolitan character of sixth-century Athens, the birth of the Athenian democracy, the Persian wars and their aftermath, all played a part in the story.

<sup>2</sup>That the respective widths and thicknesses are no indication of chronology, as has been thought, for instance, by Bullas, *Chronologia*, p. 101, f., is shown by our list on p. 134 ff.

DIMENSIONS OF STELAI

# DIMENSIONS OF STELAI

N. B. A double measurement indicates the taper from bottom to top, both in width and thickness. Obviously when the stela is not preserved to its full height the amount of the taper is proportionately small. n. g. = not given in the publication. n.p. = not preserved. The order within the four divisions is not necessarily chronological.

	<i>Ht. as preserved</i>	<i>Width</i>	<i>Thickness</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
<i>About 600-575 B. C.</i>				
New York sphinx and capital	72 cm.	33.8 cm., at bottom (= at top of missing shaft)	13.3 cm., at bottom (= at top of missing shaft)	figs. 30-32, 38
Sigion Stela	2.31 m.	48-46 cm.	27-13 cm.	fig. 36
Buschor Stela	2.15 m.	50.6-46.5 cm. (from bottom to middle)	27.6-25.5 cm. (from bottom to middle)	fig. 37
<i>About 575-550 B. C.</i>				
New York lotos capital	63.6 cm.	36.3 cm., at bottom (= at top of missing shaft)	12.2 cm., at bottom (= at top of missing shaft)	figs. 39-42, 6a, b
Lamprai capital	73.5 cm.	42 cm., at bottom, with moulding	17 cm., at bottom with moulding	figs. 43, 46, 47
Swordman	1.81 m.	52-49.5 cm.	26-24 cm.	fig. 55
Diskophoros	34 cm.	44.5-43 cm.	15 cm.	fig. 57
Incised head	32 cm.	32 cm.	11 cm.	fig. 38
Spearman	2.195 m.	44-37 cm.	16.6-14.5 cm.	fig. 67
New York youth	1.219 m.	44-36.6 cm.	11.1-9.5 cm.	fig. 62

# DIMENSIONS OF STELAI

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	<i>Ht. as preserved</i>	<i>Width</i>	<i>Thickness</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
<i>About 550-525 B. C.</i>				
Fragment, Conze, 9	47 cm.	38 cm., at bottom	13 cm.	fig. 60
Nouak fragment	56 cm.	36.5-34.5 cm.	16-15 cm.	fig. 59
Boston athlete	2.34 m.	39.8-35.5 cm.	11.5 cm., at top	figs. 56 and 8
<i>About 550-525 B. C.</i>				
Brother-and-sister stela	4.234 m. ht. of shaft 2.566 m.	54.2-43.9 cm. (of shaft)	18.2-14.3 cm. (of shaft)	figs. 73-79 82, 83, 11
Fragment of capital, Conze, 25	45 cm.	52 cm. +	18 cm., at top	figs. 12-13
Fragment of capital, Conze, 28	23 cm.	27 cm.	8.7-7 cm. broken	figs. 14, 15
New York fragmentary capital	32 cm.	42-45.8 cm.	7.3-9 cm.	fig. 16
Sabouroff head	28 cm.	34 cm.	14 cm.	fig. 72
New York chariot stela	1.42 m.	51.1-46.7 cm.	n. p.	figs. 66, 67
Ikaria warrior	1.78 m.	49-42.2 cm.	14.5-12 cm.	fig. 70
Warrior head	83 cm.	66.5-62 cm.	14.5 cm.	fig. 10
New York head	26 cm.	39-4 cm.	10.2 cm.	fig. 71
Samos, two-tiered	n. g.	21.5 cm. (of shaft)	10.5 cm. (of shaft)	fig. 85
Boston Troad	1.11 m.	42-40.8 cm. (of shaft)	9 cm. (of shaft)	fig. 84



	<i>Ht. as preserved</i>	<i>Width</i>	<i>Thickness</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
Dorylaion	73 cm.	39-37.5 cm. (of shaft)	13.5-12 cm.	cf. p. 85
Perinthos	62 cm.	37 cm.	8 cm. +	fig. 17
Antiphates	1.56 m. (with base) (of shaft)	31-26.5 cm.	8 cm.	figs. 88 and 18
New York reconstructed stele	1.135 m.	42-9 (at bottom)	8.9 cm	figs. 91, 92 and 19
Theron	3.66 m.	51 cm. (at bottom)	Agora fragment: 15.1-11.5 cm.	figs. 20, 89, 90
<i>About 525-500 B. C.</i>				
Louvre stele	2.16 m.	37-32 cm. (of shaft)	9.9 cm.	figs. 105-108
Samon, one-tiered, Diagoras, Buschor nos. 1	n. g.	24 cm. (of shaft)	7.5 cm. (of shaft)	fig. 86
Buschor no. 2	n. g.	28 cm. (of shaft)	10.5 cm. (of shaft)	fig. 87
Aristion	2.40 cm.	43.5-42 cm.	14-12 cm.	fig. 93
Thebes warrior	1.23 cm.	48 cm.	17 cm.	fig. 95
Levi head	79 cm.	46-45 cm.	16 cm.	fig. 98
Graved legs	95 cm.	45 cm. +	17 cm.	fig. 21
Laurion youths	22 cm.	43-40.5 cm.	10.7 cm.	fig. 99
Agathon and Aristokrates	1.04 m.	44 cm.	n. g.	fig. 96
Copenhagen warrior	57 cm.	49 cm.	n. g.	fig. 97

	<i>Ht. as preserved</i>	<i>Width</i>	<i>Thickness</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
Lyseas	1.95 m. (of shaft)	48 cm. (at bottom)	13 cm.	fig. 94
Barracco horseman	68 cm.	55-54 cm.	n. p.	fig. 100
Athenis horseman	45 cm.	47-46 cm.	15 cm.	fig. 101
New York painted fragment	21.3 cm.	n. p.	9.4-9.1 cm.	figs. 103 and 22
Antigenes	2.25 m.	40.8-31.2 cm.	10.5-9.1 cm.	fig. 23 and 104
Koukouvaones finial	63 cm.	37 cm. (of shaft)	n. g.	fig. 24
Finial, Conze, 24	43 cm.	n. g.	n. g.	fig. 102
<i>DIMENSIONS OF BASES</i>				
Kleotas	n. g.	50 cm.	35 cm.	cf. p. 24, n. 38
Tettichos	n. g.	48 cm.	35 cm.	cf. p. 24, n. 38
Phaidimos	31.8 cm	85.1-83.8 cm.	n. p.	fig. 65
Brother-and-sister as restored	23-24.2 cm. 86 cm.		67.4 cm.	figs. 73, 83
Aniphanes	n. g.	43 cm.	26 cm.	fig. 18
Aristion	27.5 cm.	72.5 cm.	40 cm.	fig. 93
Lyseas	26 cm.	70.5 cm.	45 cm.	fig. 94
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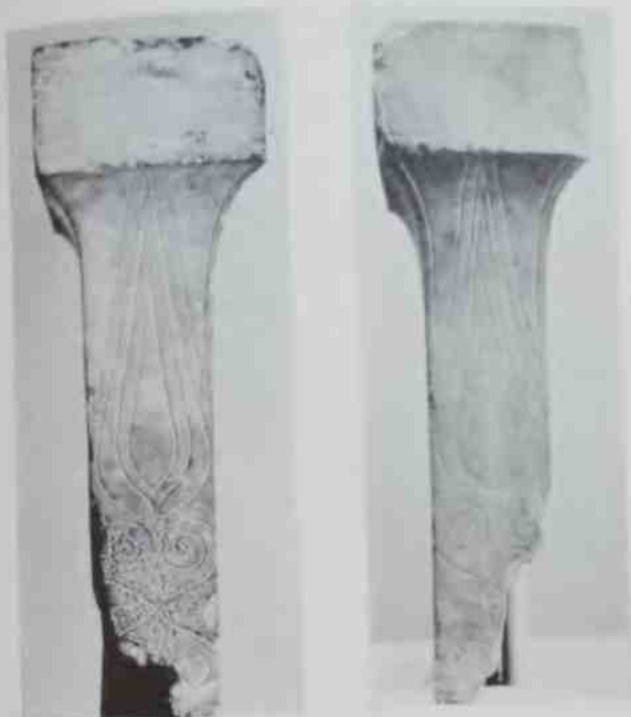
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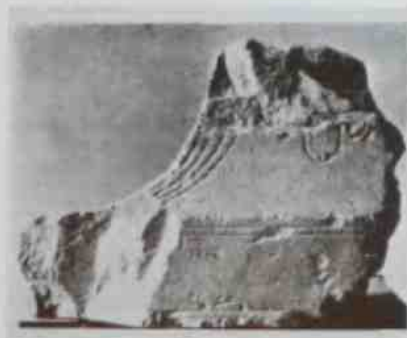
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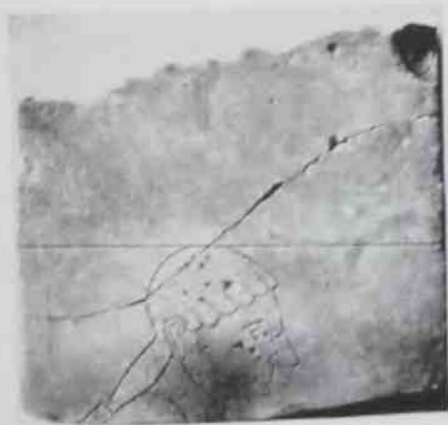


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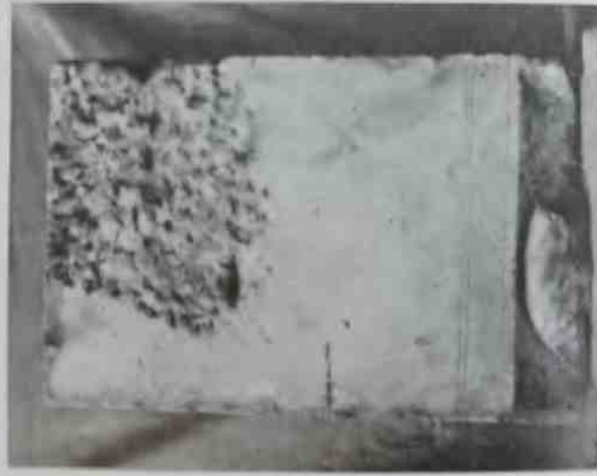


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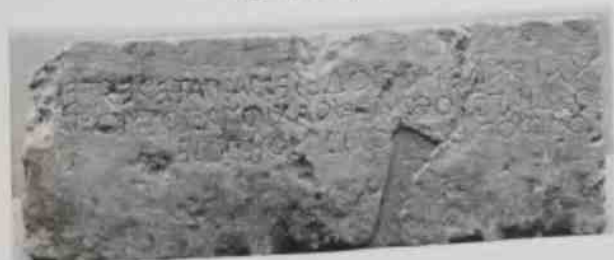


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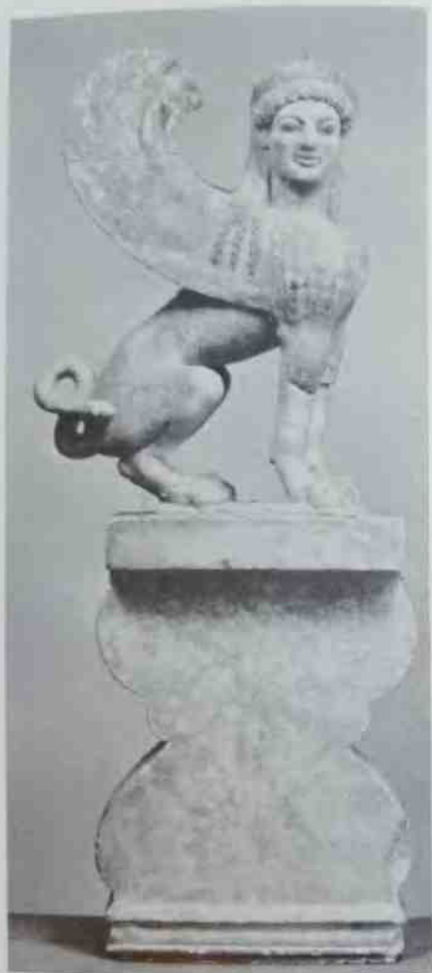


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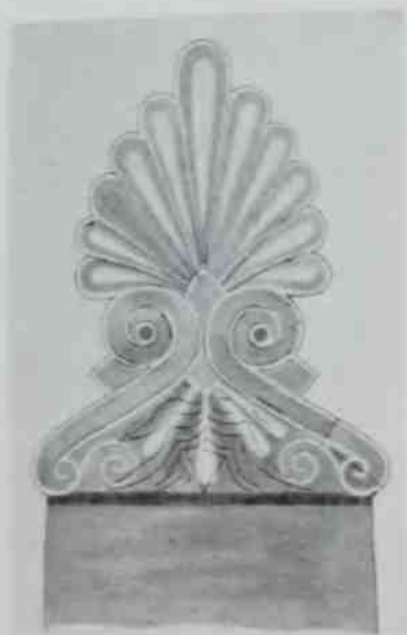
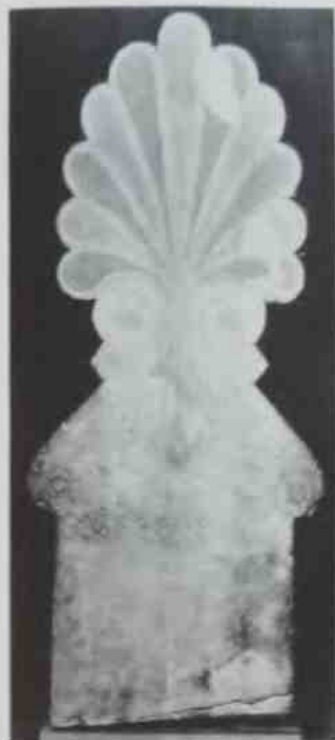


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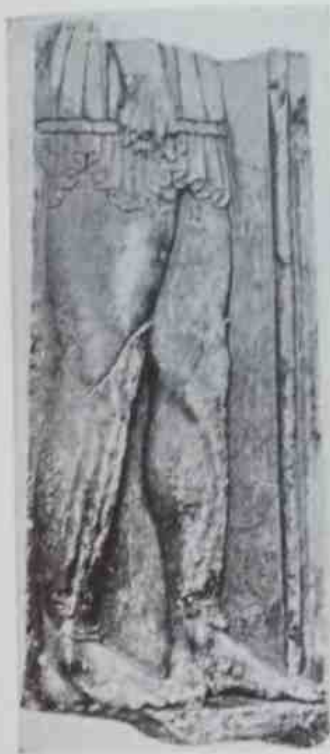


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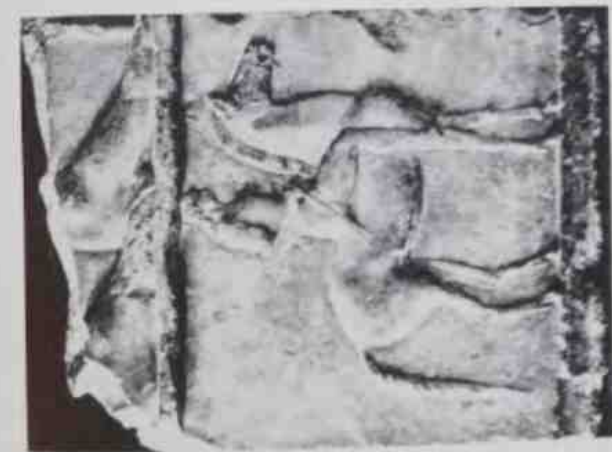


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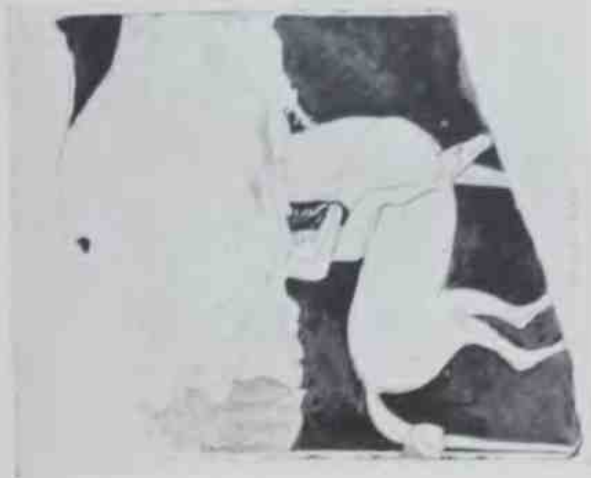


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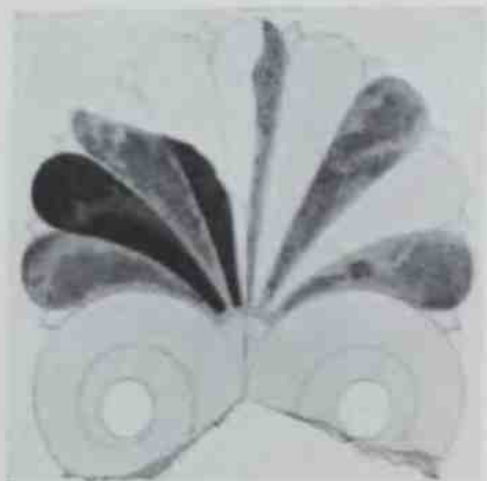


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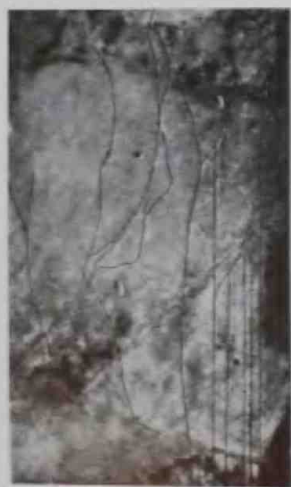
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